LYNDON GETS HIS LIBRARY NICHOLAS C. CHRISS

THE
NATION

JUNE 7, 1971 50 cents

UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY EAST ORANGE N J 07019
JUN 1 1971
EAST ORANGE, N. J. 07019

Nuclear Garbage Dump
THE A.E.C. HAS SOMETHING FOR KANSAS

RANDY BROWN

'Treason, Sabotage, Sedition'
NEW TOOL KIT FOR A POLICE STATE

LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH

• • •

Liddell Hart / 'History of the Second World War'

Robert Walters

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

votes against the war

Highland Park, N. J.

DEAR SIRS: I found Robert Sherrill's article "The Invisible Senator" [*The Nation,* May 10] interesting and informative but was disturbed to find also a misstatement of fact—in a parenthesis, as it happens.

When discussing the "grass-roots radicalism" of Senator Metcalf, Mr. Sherrill stated: "(in which regard one must also remember Jeannette Rankin, who cast the only vote in Congress against entering World War I, and returned to Congress in time to vote against entering World War II)."

Jeannette Rankin did not cast the "only vote" against World War I; there were fifty votes against the declaration of war with Germany. Meyer London (who was my father), the only Socialist Congressman from New York, took the floor repeatedly in memorable speeches against preparedness and war, and voted against the war. He was so identified with the activity against the declaration of war that when the voting was over many Congressmen told him that, if they had known there would be that many votes against the war *they too would have voted against it.* . . . Perhaps Mr. Sherrill meant to say that Miss Rankin was the only one who voted against entering both World Wars; that is so. My father died in 1926. . . . *Isabel M. London, M.D.*

abortion and execution

Toronto, Canada

DEAR SIRS: Current political agitation for repeal of the New York abortion law, launched by the New York Roman Catholic hierarchy, is indistinguishable from the operations of any high-powered and well-funded political pressure group, with two differences: the nonclerical pressure group . . . does not purport to speak in the name of the ultimate morality and does not enjoy immunity from taxation. . . .

Moral as well as logical consistency, to speak of no other considerations, would have impelled a hierarchy, motivated by reverence for life in its fight against New York law, to have filed an *amicus* brief against capital punishment in the tragic case in which the Supreme Court upheld the right of a jury to impose the death sentence—significantly, on the narrow basis of the authorized scope of jury action, and avoiding the broader side of the constitutionality of capital punishment as "cruel and unusual. . . ."

The investment in such an enterprise would be slight compared to the investment currently made by New York's Roman Catholic hierarchy in its drive to protect the month-old foetus. *Richard Arens, University of Toronto*

some progress

St. Petersburg, Fla.

DEAR SIRS: Robert W. Dietsch's "Some Progress, More Myth" [*The Nation,* May 17] should be heeded, but he should correct errors of fact.

He says: ". . . no Southern black can be elected unless his constituency is made up of a black majority, and then only if a majority of registrants are black." In St. Petersburg we have a dynamic, outspoken Negro councilwoman, elected by the city at large. She did not need the black precincts. . . . Chapel Hill, N.C. has no black majority, but has a black mayor. . . . *Arthur W. Calhoun*

Robeson

New York City

DEAR SIRS: I am working on a biography of Paul Robeson, who has given me access to his personal papers. I would appreciate any recollections, letters, notes or other documentary dealing with his life and activities. *Lloyd L. Brown*

EDITORIALS

Gun Control and Public Order

One of the genuinely efficient and useful services of the New York City Police Department is "sick assist." Whenever an ambulance is called, the nearest patrol car is simultaneously dispatched by radio, and often arrives before the ambulance. On May 21 two patrolmen, Waverly Jones, 33, and Joseph Piagentini, 28, were called to help a sick woman in a Harlem housing development. Jones was black, Piagentini white. As the men were returning to their car, two black youths shot and killed them both, using .45 caliber pistols. That raised to seven the number of police officers slain in New York City, simply because they were policemen.

In such tragic circumstances, normal emotion rises toward hysteria, and often oversteps the boundary. President Edward Kiernan of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association declared that the acquittal of the Black Panthers in New York City had precipitated the latest murders, and called on the cops to arm themselves with shotguns. Police Commissioner Murphy replied calmly that he was running the Police Department, and that there would be no shotguns.

The murdered men have had inspectors' funerals, the police are hunting for the killers, and now it is time to try to get down to one, at least, of the root causes of these and similar murders. That is the prevalence of handguns in a country as prone to violence as is the United States. The number of such easily concealed weapons is estimated to run between 24 million and 30 million. After three prominent Americans had been assassinated, we felt a twinge of conscience and Congress passed a misnamed gun-control law. The gun lobby saw to it that the law was ineffectual. One provision, designed to limit imports of pistols and revolvers, was easily got around by importation of parts and assembling them in the United States. That is typical of all the gun-control legislation on the statute books—unenforceable and easily evaded.

What is needed is the type of program recommended by a 9-to-4 vote of the members of the Commission on Violence:

(*1*) Draft a model control act. Give the states a limited time in which to adopt it, with the warning that if they do not, Congress will.

(*2*) To be really effective, the model act must provide for severe restrictions on who can get a license to carry a handgun. The restrictions that have been proposed would, it is estimated, eliminate about 90 per cent of the handguns now in circulation.

Handguns figure in a high percentage of all crimes of violence—in about 90 per cent of robberies, 50 per cent of murders. Even where there is relatively tight control, as in Chicago and the District of Columbia, it is easy to buy a revolver or pistol.

It is extremely doubtful whether the possession of guns even by the police, affords protection. In the latest pair of murders they gave no protection at all. The murderers shot the officers in the back and walked away—after taking the guns off their victims! But before steps can be taken to disarm the police, a considerable measure o

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

civilian disarmament is essential. Neither the police nor the public will tolerate unilateral disarmament of the police. Collecting handguns from the public will be a long, tough job, even with the needed federal or uniform legislation on the books.

The consequences of inaction are certain to be serious. We are already on the road to our first "police city." If Frank Rizzo is elected mayor of Philadelphia, that city will qualify for the unenviable status. Campaigning, Rizzo boasted that he was "the toughest cop in America." He avoided interviews, avoided appearing on political programs, did not discuss issues. He got the nomination solely on a phony law-and-order agitation.

A strict gun-control law is favored by the police and by practically everyone else who has studied the problem of violence in America with common sense and objectivity. But among those whose voices have been silent are Attorney General Mitchell, J. Edgar Hoover and the President. Why have they nothing to say? They profess to be for law and order. Control of handguns would do more to further the cause of genuine public order—as distinguished from racism—than any other proposal in sight.

Trial by Headline

Affidavits filed in the misbegotten Harrisburg conspiracy prosecution make it clear that the case had its genesis in J. Edgar Hoover's appearance before a Congressional appropriations subcommittee in November 1970. Before he was even sworn in as a witness, he had distributed seventy-five mimeographed copies of his testimony. The statement was released, as he intended it should be. The predictable effect was to shock the gullible subcommittee members and initiate a wave of publicity adverse to the defendants, none of whom, at that time, had been accused of any crime. As a matter of fact, it is clear from the statement that even Hoover was not sure in his own mind that they or any of them had done anything illegal.

Then, when Hoover realized that he had overstepped his kingly prerogatives and a backlash might be developing, the Justice Department rushed in to salve his injured ego and shore up his declining popularity. The result was the first hastily concocted indictment. Later, the department announced the substitution of four new prosecutors and made a point of saying that all of them were Catholics. Attached to the superseding indictment that was then filed were the now famous letters exchanged between Sister Elizabeth and Father Philip Berrigan. The defense now knows that copies of these letters had been leaked to correspondents of *Life* and *Time,* always close allies of the FBI in any "leaking" operation, quite some time before the indictment was filed. *Time* hesitated to publish them and so did *Life*—that is, until they had been made part of the court record. When the propriety of this gimmick was challenged, the government contended that it was common practice to include such evidentiary material in indictments. But when asked to cite precedents, the government lawyers became tongue-tied. Having decided to publish the letters, *Life* ran a full-page ad in *The New York Times* featuring a reproduction of one of them.

The effect of publicizing the letters—which may not be admissible in evidence—can only have been to influence

IN THIS ISSUE

June 7, 1971

EDITORIALS

706

ARTICLES

710 Lyndon Gets His Library — *Nicholas C. Chriss*

712 Nuclear Garbage Dump: The AEC Has Something for Kansas — *Randy Brown*

716 ILGWU: The Old Age of a Union — *David Gumpert*

719 Sugar Quota: Sweet Bonus for Apartheid — *Bruce J. Oudes*

721 "Treason, Sabotage, Sedition": New Tool Kit for a Police State — *Lawrence Fernsworth*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

725 Liddell Hart: History of the Second World War — *Robert Walters*

726 Vallières: White Niggers of America — *Vladimir Dedijer*

728 Greer: The Female Eunuch — *Claudia Dreifus*

729 Hsü: The Rise of Modern China — *Norman J. Gallo*

729 Fakinos: The Marked Men — *Stephen Rousseas*

730 Films — *Robert Hatch*

731 Dance — *Nancy Goldner*

732 Theatre — *Harold Clurman*

732 Chestnut (poem) — *Robert Morgan*

733 Art — *Lawrence Alloway*

733 Spring Poem — *Elizabeth Marraffino*

734 Nightmares (poem) — *Jane Mayhall*

Publisher
JAMES J. STORROW Jr.

Editor
CAREY McWILLIAMS

Associate Publisher
GIFFORD PHILLIPS

Executive Editor
ROBERT HATCH

Literary Editor
EMILE CAPOUYA

Copy Editor, MARION HESS; Poetry Editor, ALLEN PLANZ; Theatre, HAROLD CLURMAN; Art, LAWRENCE ALLOWAY; Music, DAVID HAMILTON; Science, CARL DREHER; Advertising Manager, MARY SIMON.

Editorial Associate, ERNEST GRUENING

Washington, ROBERT SHERRILL; London, RAYMOND WILLIAMS; Paris, CLAUDE BOURDET; Bonn, C. AMERY; Canberra, C. P. FITZGERALD; U.N., ANNE TUCKERMAN

The Nation is published weekly (except biweekly in July and August) by the Nation Company and copyright 1971 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10014. Tel: CH 2-8400. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Subscription Price: One year $12.50; two years, $23. Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give five weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Manuscripts. All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION

Volume 212
No. 23

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

public opinion against the defendants and, more particularly, to make it appear that Hoover "had something." Before the second indictment was returned, 51 per cent of the public (Gallup) had indicated that Hoover should retire; after the letters were published, the percentage dropped to 43 per cent in the Harris poll. So, whatever the government's intention, releasing the letters helped to bolster the director's sagging popularity rating. This is by no means the first time that the FBI has leaked documents to the press about a pending case, but it is a particularly flagrant and obvious instance of trial by headline. It has been said that we now live in a post-constitutional period. Such incidents as the Harrisburg caper—and the preparation of the lethal package of repressive legislation which the inquisitorial committees have assembled for future use (see article p. 721)—confirm the impression that we are indeed moving in that direction.

Those Breakthroughs

"Breakthrough" is a word overworked in the headlines. It spread from military parlance into aerospace technology after World War II, thence into a variety of unrelated fields, including politics and cancer research. Genuine breakthroughs, in the sense of sudden advances toward the solution of problems, are much less common than spurious ones. A blatant example of the latter is President Nixon's appearance on TV to inform the viewers of a breakthrough in the SALT talks. Less easily classified are such headlined breakthroughs as Brezhnev's statement of willingness to negotiate arms reduction (is it a breakthrough when it is a repetition of something said a year ago?); the Heath-Pompidou press conference on the Common Market; Chou En-lai's continued affability, etc.

Nixon's eagerness to pre-empt for himself the usufructs of some slight movement in the SALT negotiations makes one wonder with Max Lerner whether it was a breakthrough "or a hope chest." Nothing more had happened than an understanding between the superpowers on *how* to talk. One must be thankful for small favors nowadays, but as it stands it is nothing sensational.

The introduction of the Mansfield amendment, despite its defeat, may in the end turn out to have been an abortive breakthrough, to be followed by a climactic one. Mr. Nixon, supported by his phalanx of superannuated cold warriors, knocked down Mr. Mansfield's attempt to cut American troop strength in Europe by half, but no one doubts that the numbers will sooner or later be reduced. When it is finally accomplished, the cut will not be as cataclysmic as Mr. Nixon pictured it. As Clayton Fritchey has pointed out, Eisenhower, the first NATO commander, proposed it as early as October 1963.

If Britain supports Heath and joins the Common Market, that could qualify as a breakthrough—but not for the United States. We have not tried to deter Britain in this matter, but its joining will have some consequences that we will scarcely relish. For one thing, it will greatly attenuate the "special relationship," whose underlying meaning was that we could usually get Britain to go along with our follies. Further, the United States will be facing a Europe of 320 million people with a spending power of $385 billion, exports of $96 billion and imports of $102 billion. To be sure, many U.S. corporations got in under the wire in the sixties through the device of the multinational corporation; even so, changes—economic, political and military—are implicit in this development. It is a positive breakthrough for European independence, a negative one for the United States in its role of world policeman. We may have to be satisfied with pushing Latin Americans around.

But still another development to be noted has all the appearance of a unilateral breakthrough. Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau has been candidly motivated in his trip to Moscow by concern that the "overpowering presence" of the United States poses "dangers to our national identity from a cultural, economic and perhaps even military point of view." His pronouncement is one more expression of Canadian "anti-Americanism," which has many different aspects. Trudeau and the Soviet leaders have been getting along very well. The Soviets are even willing to build that Alaskan-Canadian pipeline. If creating new options, new alternatives, constitutes a breakthrough, Trudeau has broken through.

What all this adds up to is that the old American arrogance is wearing thin. It is still jerking and kicking spasmodically—witness the threat to impose a special tariff aimed at Japan; apparently some of our statesmen have not noted that our former ward has become a great power. The nuclear-dollar stick is no longer big. Which means that we must look around for a new foreign policy; if we succeed in creating one that makes sense, that will be a breakthrough indeed.

Trouble in Cuba

In an interview some years ago (referred to by Jose Yglesias in *The New York Review*, June 3), Fidel Castro told Lee Lockwood that he did not intend to follow the Soviet practice in dealing with nonconforming intellectuals. "I especially am a partisan," he said, "of the widest possible discussion in the intellectual realm. . . . I believe that ideas must be able to defend themselves. I am opposed to the blacklist of books, prohibited films, and all such things."

A good statement, and there is no reason to doubt that at the time Castro meant what he said. It is, therefore, all the more depressing to read that sixty European and Western intellectuals, including such eminent figures as Jean-Paul Sartre, Carlos Fuentes and Alberto Moravia, have found it necessary to express their disappointment with Castro over the Cuban regime's treatment of the poet Heberto Padilla, whose work won first prize in a contest sponsored by the Cuban Writers Union in 1968. Padilla was arrested on March 20 and held in custody for five weeks, after which he issued an absurd "confession," in the worst Soviet tradition, in which he denounced himself as ignoble, unjust, cowardly, treacherous and lying, and declared that he had passed on counter-revolutionary analyses of Cuban politics to K. S. Karol and René Dumont, whom he described as CIA agents.

The importance of this incident lies not only in what was done to Padilla to make him issue such a patently incredible statement but in what impelled Castro to approve the action. When writers and journalists are at-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tacked in this manner it usually means that they are being made scapegoats for shortcomings of the regime. It was certainly so in Czechoslovakia, as Dusan Hamsik, formerly editor of *Literarni Noviny*, makes clear in *Writers Against Rulers*, an account of the so-called writers revolt in Prague in 1967. It would seem, therefore, that Castro is preparing to tighten the controls by way of overcoming inadequacies in his government's performance. We hope this diagnosis proves mistaken, but the Padilla incident points that way. The statement from the intellectuals is the more forceful because many of them have in the past shown sympathy for, interest in and support of Castro's Cuba. American bourgeois liberals may not have done much for Castro in a tangible way, but they did help to calm the initial hysteria over a Communist regime "90 miles from Key West." To these Americans the Padilla incident will not be reassuring.

Double Hypocritical Standards

Overly stimulated by the warm reception he received in Alabama—as the first President to visit the state in fifty years he was assured a friendly greeting—President Nixon at a closed-door briefing of Southern editors reached an indignant climax with the statement: "I have nothing but utter contempt for the double hypocritical standard of those Northerners who look at the South and say, 'Why don't those Southerners do more about their racial problems?' "

Right on, Mr. President. But we would point out that the record of the Administration on civil rights enforcement, North and South, East and West, is offensively hypocritical when measured against its public statements. While professing to be for strict and even-handed law enforcement, Atty. Gen. John Mitchell has been publicly castigated by three federal judges for blowing upon "coals of discord" by his "Pilate-like," and "obtuse, patronizing failure" to discharge his duties under the Voting Rights Act. The distinguished chairman of the Civil Rights Commission, the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, has accused the Administration of "regression" on civil rights enforcement. After incessant prodding on his part, he reports, "the dinosaur finally opened one eye," but that has been about the extent of its interest in civil rights enforcement. Dr. Milton Eisenhower, alarmed by rising racial tensions, has publicly blistered the Administration for failure to take action on the recommendations of the Commission on Violence bearing on racial issues. After tracing various efforts on the part of commission members to get something done, Dr. Eisenhower comments: "But from the executive branch, which brought us into being, there has been almost total silence." Even a citizens' effort to monitor and help improve law enforcement was, he reports, stymied by Attorney General Mitchell. And racial war is possible, he believes, if nothing more is done; "the weapons are there."

Members of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil Rights Oversight recently took Asst. Atty. Gen. David L. Norman to task for lax civil rights enforcement and complained that the Attorney General had ignored their request that he appear before them. White House intervention, reports the Washington *Star*'s Joseph Young, is responsible for the Civil Service Commission's double-talk on its new equal opportunity employment statement. Thirteen black members of Congress charge that the President has offered little but bureaucratic alibis by way of responding to the detailed statement of grievances, which they finally succeeded in presenting to him. It is, indeed, hypocritical of Northerners who practice various forms of exclusion against Negroes to adopt a "We are fairer than thou" attitude toward the South. But it is equally hypocritical, and equally deserving of "utter contempt," for the President and his Attorney General to pursue a policy of minimum possible enforcement of civil rights legislation while keeping up a pious litany of dedication to the Constitution and the equal enforcement of the law.

Fading Roses

In the more than sixty years of its profitable existence, the Portland, Ore., Rose Festival has exploited the city's schools to stir up civic enthusiasm for the ten-day June event. The festival is big business. The Portland Rose Festival Association has a suite of offices in the Hilton Hotel and a year-round staff. Its auxiliary troops, the uniformed Rosarians (cream-colored suit with red rose insignia, straw hat and cane), are as active and well-known in Portland as are the Rotarians.

Three months before the festival the local publicity begins, at the high school level. (Indeed, without the high school-based publicity there wouldn't be enough "exposure" to promote a small county fair.) Tradition has it that each Portland high school—now fourteen in number—chooses a Rose Festival princess. The selection, from among a group of keyed-up contestants, is held in an atmosphere that sometimes reaches the emotional breaking point.

No two schools select on the same day; the Rose Festival Association schedules the selections to obtain maximum newspaper space and more TV coverage than is given the war in Indochina. Eventually, a Rose Festival Queen is chosen at a ceremony witnessed by thousands massed in Memorial Coliseum. Then the Rose Festival Court, a collection of puppets, is whisked from one place to another, all around town, sometimes day after day, chauffeured by Rosarians driving cream-colored cars bearing the red rose insignia, and put through their paces by association personnel.

Since almost the start of the century, Portland high school students have accepted princess selections as part of their academic lives. But in the last few years, what with Vietnam, pollution and other problems bugging them, there have been some grumbling and rumbling. This year, despite attempts by association officials and school administrators to cool protests, enough students rebelled to make the papers. (Not the front pages, of course.)

Students at Portland's newest high school, John Adams, voted 3 to 2 against selecting a princess this year. "We're sick of being stooges for the businessmen," said a bright, pretty senior. "The Rose Festival Queen thing is a distortion of values," said a husky athlete. At Andrew Jackson High School, Portland's newest until John Adams was opened two years ago, the executive cabinet of the Associated Student Body declared by a vote of 9 to 1 that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it "seriously questions the Rose Festival and its role in our school, and totally withholds all support from the Rose Festival functions at Jackson High School."

The resolution questioned the "relevance" of Rose Festival princesses to "the educational purpose of a high school" and termed princess eligibility requirements "inane." The document also stated that "the primary purpose of the Rose Festival is to increase tourism and profits for the businessmen of Portland."

Another grievance cited the practice of lowering grades of high school band members who do not march in the Grand Floral Parade. Portland Rose Festival Association officials are wondering how to bring the errant students back in line next year. But next year more student bodies will probably decide that being exploited for the hoopla of commerce isn't their bag.

The Flag Girl

Marcy Taylor, 25, is a security analyst's assistant in the Bank of America's world headquarters in San Francisco. She is the daughter of a prominent Chicago stockbroker and a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. And, judging by her picture in the *San Francisco Chronicle,* she is a very pretty, level-headed young woman.

On May 5 an anti-war demonstration was staged outside the bank. One of the demonstrators set fire to an American flag. Miss Taylor dashed out and smothered the flames with her bare hands. Suddenly, according to a *Chronicle* writer, "she found herself front-page news in *The Chronicle* and across the country."

Marcy Taylor has received "scads" of dating requests, has appeared on so many radio and TV shows that she has lost count, has received standing ovations at civic functions, dined with the crew of a destroyer, and been kissed by the Chief of Naval Operations. Both the president of the Bank of America and the President of the United States have written her congratulatory letters. She has also received a proposal of marriage: "After reading about you, watching your charming presentation on television and listening to your wit and logic on radio, I'm convinced you're worthy of me."

All this is standard PR stuff, of course, and merely shows that *The Chronicle,* the West Coast radio and TV stations and the press officers of the armed services know a good story when they see one. But there is a serious side to the hoopla. Marcy, we are told, is (or was) opposed to the Vietnamese War, to the extent that she marched the 8 miles to Golden Gate Park in the great peace demonstration of April 24. How serious her devotion to the cause of peace actually is we shall now see, but certainly the fool who was burning the flag has been of signal help to the enemies of peace and all that remains of decency and sanity in the American character.

As a national symbol, the American flag belongs as much to the American opponents of the Vietnamese War as to the chauvinists, Birchites, neo-McCarthyites, Legionnaires and Veterans of Foreign Wars—all those who have forgotten nothing in their own experience and misunderstood everything beyond that. Indeed, the flag belongs more to those who agitate for an end to this hideous war: they remember what America once stood for.

LYNDON GETS HIS LIBRARY

NICHOLAS C. CHRISS
Mr. Chriss is Houston bureau chief of the Los Angeles Times.

Austin

Back in the fall of 1968 Lyndon Baines Johnson told an aide he wanted the best Presidential library in the world. He got it. There it stands on a grassy knoll of the University of Texas, eight stories high and crammed with practically every document Mr. Johnson preserved from three decades of political life. It was formally dedicated and opened to the public on May 22, when President Nixon came to Austin for a quick trip and a few minutes of private conversation with his predecessor.

It is difficult to imagine that the name of John B. Connally was not mentioned in that conversation, for the former Texas governor and present Secretary of the Treasury was very much in evidence among the 3,000 guests Mr. Johnson invited to the ceremonies. Only one other man, perhaps, gained more attention that day as the guests spread out over the library lawns to eat barbecued ribs and sourdough biscuits. That was Gregory Peck.

In a way, the library dedication signified a passing of power in Texas politics from Lyndon B. Johnson to John B. Connally. For Mr. Johnson now has the handsome library he wanted; his memoirs will be out in the fall and he is no longer all that interested in the gut politics that absorbed him in the past. If he can ever get to the library without having to pass through rows of chanting anti-war University of Texas students, he will probably spend a lot of time there. In the immediate future, however, he would probably have to come in by helicopter (the library does indeed have a helicopter landing pad on the roof). And underneath that roof are the much discussed 31 million pages of documents Mr. Johnson brought back to Austin from Washington. It is an awesome collection; nevertheless, there may be some questions about how accurately it substantiates the record. In fact, there already are some. Mr. Johnson clearly had them in mind when he made a short speech during the ceremonies.

Not until the end of 1972, or later, will the papers finally be collated and recorded and opened to scholars and researchers. And, of course, many of them will remain classified for two or more decades. So the first historian of the Johnson era will be Mr. Johnson himself, whose book is now in the hands of his publisher. And his interpretation of events in Washington, especially during

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the time of the Great Society, have come in for some criticism. A lot of people don't remember things in quite the same way.

Mr. Johnson had an answer for them during his speech:

> It is all here: The story of our time—with the bark off. A President sees things from a unique perspective. No one can share his responsibility. No one can share the scope of his duties or the burden of his decisions. In my book to be published this fall, I explain in the preface: "I have not written these chapters to say, 'This is how I saw it from my vantage point.' This library does not say, 'This is who I saw,' but 'This is how the documents show it was.' " There is no record of a mistake, or unpleasantness or criticism not included in the files here.

Maybe—but no one can be certain about that for some time. The substantive record of the library is open to question on at least one vital point: According to library officials, who probably know more about all those papers than Mr. Johnson himself remembers, there is nowhere among them a record of Mr. Johnson's very personal and private opinion of the assassination of President Kennedy. Yet Mr. Johnson went on record, briefly, in the fall of 1969 by filming a CBS television interview in which he expressed doubts that Lee Harvey Oswald may have acted alone, as the Warren Commission found. Three weeks before the interview was scheduled for national viewing, in May 1970, Mr. Johnson told CBS to delete that portion, on the grounds of national security. The deleted film is not among the library records; CBS is supposed to have it, but no one seems to know for certain. Nor, according to library officials, does the collection contain a record of Mr. Johnson's views as expressed in the aborted television interview. Perhaps it will be in Mr. Johnson's book.

Some doubts about the library—and whether the story of the LBJ era would be told with or without the bark—began to rise in December 1969, when Mr. Johnson recalled certain political events in another CBS interview. He produced some incredulity among persons who had known him during his Washington years. Skepticism has also been stimulated by first views of the exhibits on the ground floor of the library. Missing for the most part are a few of the less favorable episodes—anti-war demonstrations, campus protests and the like. There is a film dealing with the Selma march, but it would be easy to come away from all those displays without remembering that a man named Martin Luther King, Jr., played a role in those days.

A library official has said, however, that he feels that the protests and marches may emerge later, perhaps several years from now, when the exhibits are changed. But whatever the record will show, with or without the bark, Mr. Johnson and his staff over the long years collected, as no one ever did before, gifts and letters from queens and kings, emperors and prime ministers. There are records of every telephone call to the White House, the lengths of official meetings, the minutes spent with visitors, memos by the hundreds of thousands, conference notes, millions of feet of microfilmed federal agency records documenting (we won't know if that is the right verb for some time) the Great Society era, hundreds of thousands of photographs of the Johnson family, newspaper clippings, television clips, cartoons, buttons, songs, placards, and on and on.

Mr. Johnson has had his collection appraised and been told it is worth between $50 million and $60 million. It contains some 10 million more pages of documents than does the second largest, the Roosevelt collection. There are 500,000 photographs of Mr. Johnson and his family and one wonders whether the law of diminishing returns has been suspended for this gallery. The exhibitions also include, on prominent display, manikins wearing the wedding gowns of Mr. Johnson's two daughters.

This is the first Presidential library to be professionally designed. The University of Texas, which footed that portion of the bill, places the cost at $18.6 million, but that includes also the adjacent Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs. No one seems to know the total cost of the library; it is not information one can dig out of the barrage of publicity releases. However, Henry Fowler, once Mr. Johnson's Secretary of the Treasury, calls it a "$60 million enterprise." Mr. Fowler said the figure includes $30 million to $35 million which he and a group of high-powered businessmen have quietly been raising from foundations, corporations, trade unions and wealthy individuals. Some of these men include Eugene Black, former World Bank president; Arthur Krim, president of

Macpherson, Toronto Star

United Artists Corp.; and George Brown, Houston businessman. Some Texas foundations have been leading contributors; the Moody Foundation, in Galveston, gave the library and school $1.5 million. None of this is mentioned in the handouts about the library. The annual cost to the taxpayers of operating the library has quadrupled—to around $800,000—from the original estimate given to Congress in 1965.

Mr. Fowler described the solicitation of contributions as "quiet and unpublicized"; in fact, it has remained secret. One example of the style employed is the main conduit

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for receiving the funds, a little known foundation called the Health, Education and Conservation Public Affairs Foundation. Texas politicians, and particularly Mr. Johnson's friends, favor that way of channeling funds. The present foundation is headed by Frank C. Erwin, Jr., a major figure in the Texas establishment, a University of Texas regent (and recently regent chairman) and a confidant of Mr. Johnson. Mr. Erwin has operated the university with such an iron hand that long ago it was suggested that the school be renamed "The University of Frank Erwin." (After the library dedication in Austin, when a local photographer from a weekly attempted to take his picture, Mr. Erwin reached out, yanked the camera down and smeared the lens with his thumb. Mr. Erwin dislikes newsmen.) Mr. Erwin was under fire recently on another matter of secret money. This concerned a $1 million home built for the chancellor of the university system. Its cost had been set originally at $163,000. The house was built with collections from private sources, including a $600,000 check from a Texas foundation whose identity is known only to Erwin. The propriety of using private and anonymous donations from money-laden Texas foundations came into question several years ago in a similar venture by some of Mr. Johnson's friends. The names of 1,000 donors were withheld for five years until after the land was purchased and the LBJ state park built across from the LBJ ranch.

Like the park, the main portion of the Johnson library is devoted to wide open space. The "Great Hall" of the building reaches up seven stories and the thrust of the construction was to make the library impressive as well as functional. One side of the hall is of glass, behind which are the rows and rows of red buckram containers embellished with the gold Presidential seal. It is pretty. The other wall has engraved on it a massive Presidential seal about 30 feet wide.

The library will require a full-time staff of thirty-five. Its director is Harry Middleton who came to Texas with Mr. Johnson from Washington, and who has worked on Mr. Johnson's book. There is no doubt that the detail of the collection, the stretch of history it represents, are impressive and unique. Used as a standard, it is difficult to imagine what Presidential libraries may grow to be in another decade. This one is obviously a tribute to a man. Archaeologists, stumbling upon it in some far-distant century, might well mistake it for the remnants of a temple built to a long-forgotten deity. □

NUCLEAR GARBAGE DUMP

The AEC Has Something for Kansas

RANDY BROWN
Mr Brown is an investigative and special assignments reporter for the Wichita Eagle.

Wichita

The United States Atomic Energy Commission both promotes and regulates the use of commercial nuclear energy, which is akin to putting General Motors in charge of automobile safety standards. In the words of one Kansas Sierra Club official, "it's a helluva way to run a railroad."

Right now, despite myriad protests and unanswered questions, the commission is charging ahead with plans to run its railroad—composed of heavily shielded freight cars (as yet unbuilt and undesigned) loaded with commercial atomic waste material—right into the heart of Kansas. The nuclear debris (some of it "high-level," or extremely radioactive) is to be buried 1,000 feet underground, in an abandoned salt mine at the edge of the town of Lyons. There, the AEC is trying to convince everyone, it will repose peacefully until it breaks down to a "safe" level at various dates, stretching, for the most persistent particles, almost 500,000 years into the future. Unless something happens to divert this plan, Kansas will become, starting about 1975, the nation's commercial graveyard, and the AEC's trains will descend on the state from reactor sites all across the United States.

Apart from those provided by the AEC, there are no federal guidelines for the proper disposal of atomic waste, which will pour out of commercial generators at a geometrically increasing rate for the remainder of the 20th century. Nor has Congress provided legal remedy for those who wish to prevent their state or community from becoming an atomic garbage dump. The AEC itself is without established criteria for public participation in decisions concerning the disposal of nuclear waste. All this leaves Kansas with a near-total dependence upon the *noblesse oblige* of the AEC, and therefore the commission has demonstrated a lot of *noblesse* and very little *oblige*.

Since June 1970, when the commission announced that Kansas had been "awarded" a "National Nuclear Park," the AEC has been assuring everyone that the safety and integrity of the project, which eventually will cost U.S. taxpayers $25 million, was virtually beyond question, that all proper studies had been made, that Lyons was the best possible site for nuclear waste disposal, that Kansas would be doing a vital service for the rest of the nation, and that any bugs in the plan could be engineered out as the project proceeded.

But also since the announcement, a growing body of independent scientific and political opinion has cast varying degrees of doubt on almost every AEC contention and has added a number of questions and considerations to the discussion. From early this year, some critics have been calling for suspension of the project, until further studies can prove beyond doubt the safety of the site and the suitability of AEC methods. The AEC, while admitting that it has not conducted at least two safety studies con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sidered vital by independent scientists, and reluctantly agreeing to conduct them, is agreeing to no such moratorium and continues to ask urgently for $3.5 million for the purchase of land and to complete designs for storage. Why the AEC wants to buy a site that may yet prove unsafe and unsuitable is an open question, but one good guess can be made by combining statements from project critics—one from the staff of Rep. Joe Skubitz (R., Kan.), and another from Dr. William Hambleton, director of the Kansas Geological Survey. A Skubitz aide says, "AEC is in a bind. . . . They've got to get rid of [a great deal of already accumulated waste] and the salt mine at Lyons is the only place they've studied." Hambleton adds, "The power tactics of the AEC do not fill us with confidence. . . . One wonders whether the AEC can ever be stopped once it gains momentum."

If the AEC is indeed in a bind, and it gives every indication of being so (Milton Shaw, director of reactor development for the commission, has been quoted as saying, presumably only half in jest: "We're not in a panic situation. If this doesn't go, we'll throw up our hands and probably cut our throats"), it is really no wonder; the problem of nuclear waste is accelerating. By the end of 1971, twenty-nine nuclear power plants will be operating in the United States; by the year 2000, the AEC estimates, there will be nearly 1,000, producing 3,000 metric tons of waste to be buried at Lyons annually. Already, the AEC is holding 80 million gallons of both commercial and military high-level liquid waste in temporary "repositories" near Idaho Falls, Ida., Richland, Wash., and Aiken, S.C. Sen. Frank Church (D., Ida.), has demanded that the Idaho Falls wastes be removed because of the possibility that the storage area, which is directly above the Snake River aquifer, will pollute that water supply. There also has been a hassle in the state of Washington.

The AEC has been eyeing Kansas as the solution to its commercial waste problems for almost fifteen years, although it still hasn't decided what to do with military waste. In 1961, an initial foray into the state came to grief when the late U.S. Sen. Andrew Schoeppel brought the rest of the Kansas Congressional delegation into his fold and effectively blocked the project. Information gathered by the Kansas Sierra Club indicates that the AEC, now trying for a second time to enter the state, sought to evade a repetition of the political problem by issuing a memorandum to the effect that AEC employees were to keep quiet about Lyons.

At any rate, the commission, under the guise of demonstrating a method for disposing of radioactive wastes in salt, has been around the Lyons area since 1965. The AEC's plans are relatively simple. After the waste reaches Kansas by rail, it will be lowered into the mine, which will have been enlarged with a series of tunnels and chambers. The atomic debris, shielded with steel, will be buried in pits carved into the chambers, after which the wants to purchase 200 acres of surface land and acquire chambers will be back-filled with crushed salt. The AEC subsurface rights to another 1,000 acres, thus acquiring a 1-square-mile underground vault with a capacity of 1.28 million cubic feet of waste, 280,000 cubic feet of which will be the high-level variety. The AEC concedes that, within three years of burial, the steel containers will disintegrate from the tremendous internal heat of the debris and the eroding action of the salt, but it insists that the salt will permanently seal off the radioactive particles from the environment.

One Kansas geologist is said to be convinced that salt "is not the stuff" in which to bury atomic wastes; he is therefore very anxious that the AEC carry out additional testing before it goes further with site acquisition and design. That view is in the minority; most scientists, both inside Kansas and out, feel that, under ideal conditions, salt may be the safest medium to use because of its relative inertia and high melting point. But whether the safety of salt has been proved by actual test and whether the Lyons mine satisfies the necessary "ideal" conditions are subjects still open to serious question.

Hambleton, who has worked with the AEC and its independent contractors in studies for the project and who is considered Kansas' most informed scientist on the geological conditions in the area, has well-substantiated reservations. He asserts that the AEC has not made sufficient studies of the heat flow problem associated with radioactive material, nor properly examined the effect radiation will have on the structure of the salt. Problems with heat flow and radiation damage to salt are not likely, but the results would be so catastrophic, if they did occur, that the possibilities must be studied.

Once freed from the containers, and under the right set of circumstances, the radioactive material could conceivably generate temperatures up to 800 degrees centigrade in the mine, causing salt in and around the mine to flow, Hambleton contends. The AEC has estimated that temperatures could not go above 350 degrees centigrade, but such an assumption is based on an "oversimplification," he charges.

The commission based its conclusions on a half-salt, half-shale composition of the area; actually, the subsurface strata consist of alternating beds of salt and shale. Since heat flow is greater in sites of alternate layers, temperatures in the mine could reach 800 degrees. At that point, Hambleton said, the salt would flow and consolidate to a much greater degree than the AEC expects. As a result, overlying rocks could shift and sink, producing fractures through which surface and ground waters could reach the salt. The salt would then dissolve and expose the radioactive wastes to the Kansas environment.

In a report to the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Hambleton expressed a further concern: the large amounts of energy stored in the salt could be released by structural changes caused by radiation, and that could set off a series of underground explosions and cause a heat chain reaction, raising temperatures far above the original AEC estimate and resulting in the destruction of the storage area and the exposure of the wastes.

Waste retrieval, in the event something goes wrong, and transportation of the radioactive material over long distances are two other problems the AEC hopes to "engineer out" as the disposal scheme proceeds. Says Hambleton: "We judge that plans for safe transportation of these radioactive materials are completely inadequate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and that no contingency plans for retrieval of waste exists at all."

AEC says it will carefully chart the location of all containers and that waste material will not move from the area in which it is buried even when the canisters disintegrate. Hambleton demurs, saying the wastes will indeed migrate because of salt flow and the natural movement of radioactive particles. The AEC admits that it has only "postulated" a retrieval method, but says it would go in with a full-scale mining operation if that should prove necessary.

Although some of AEC's own people have raised doubts about the safety of moving high-level radioactive waste halfway across the country, AEC points to its transportation record and says it will design freight cars to haul the waste without mishap. Cylinders containing the material are to be imbedded in 100-ton ceramic blocks, a proposal that causes critics of the project to wonder whether Kansas railroad beds are strong enough to support such weight.

All the project's problems are compounded by the extreme radioactivity and longevity of the high-level waste. One of the cylinders, for example, contains material emitting 10 billion rads of radioactivity, enough to kill everyone in the United States. Three really troublesome isotopes would be buried in Kansas: strontium-90, cesium-137 and plutonium. Cesium-137 emits gamma radiation, which can easily penetrate thick shields, and, like strontium-90, will remain dangerous in human terms for about 600 years. Plutonium, which is dangerous only if actually ingested into the body, will be lethal for half a million years.

Obviously, safety standards for such a project can tolerate no possibility of mistakes. The AEC has a fine safety record, with no loss of life or serious injury, but the record is hardly perfect. There have been fifteen known cases of liquid-waste tank failure, eleven in Washington and four in South Carolina.

Hambleton's criticisms are perhaps the most impressive because of his expert knowledge about Kansas and the Lyons area, but he is hardly alone. Gov. Robert Docking has belatedly joined the general call for a delay. (In late 1970 he had said: "There is nothing Kansas can do now to stop the Atomic Energy Commission from placing a nuclear waste repository at Lyons.") The U.S. Department of the Interior has declined to endorse the project until further studies are made. Forty-six state Representatives and eight state Senators co-sponsored a resolution backing the moratorium. And on May 8, a U.S. Environmental Protection Agency report, released by the entire Kansas Congressional delegation, strongly backed project critics. EPA pointed out the need for "further review of the environmental and safety implications of the project," and added that the AEC should give more consideration to the long-term ability of salt to hold wastes and prevent them from contaminating the environment. The EPA report also emphasized that plans should be developed for recovery of the wastes. On May 22 the EPA returned to the subject, saying "it is not possible for us to assess fully the environmental impact" on the basis of information supplied by the AEC.

More critics enter the fray when the specific questions—why Lyons? why Kansas?—are raised. The AEC says it chose Lyons because it is located in the largest area of salt deposits in the country; it has the lowest population density of all sites considered; it is located in an area of low seismic activity.

The "population density" argument is particularly fascinating. If population is of any concern, one has grounds to question the safety of the AEC's plans. In fact, Representative Skubitz says, the AEC has indicated to him that it hesitates to dump the wastes near Detroit because of the high population there, and, presumably, the possibility of an accident. A site near Hanover, Wash., was termed perfectly safe by an AEC official in 1965; apparently it is no longer considered so. Skubitz points out that extensive salt beds exist all through Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York; all these areas are much closer to the vast majority of the reactors which create the wastes.

From the perspective of geological history, the Lyons area is indeed stable, but whether it is significantly more stable than the East Coast is another moot point, for Kansas is certainly not free of seismic disturbances. The Department of the Interior states that "since earthquakes have occurred at many times in the Kansas-Nebraska region, they can be expected to occur in the future." Skubitz comments: "We experienced an earthquake in Kansas less than 100 miles from the Lyons site as late as 1968."

But it is the implication that Kansas has been "awarded" the project and that the state will be performing a vital service by accepting it that really galls Skubitz and many other Kansans. "Most misleading of all," says Skubitz, "is the suggestion that if Kansas agrees to become the nation's atomic dump by permitting the construction of a tax-exempt federal facility, it would be doing the nation a 'vital' service. The fact is that Kansas would be performing a 'vital' service only for privately owned nuclear power plants of such companies as Consolidated Edison of New York, Detroit Edison of Michigan and Commonwealth Edison of Illinois. There are no nuclear power plants in Kansas today."

The suspicion is growing that, since opposition in Idaho and Washington has already stalled AEC disposal plans for those states, Kansas is the AEC's last hope. Rather than having been "awarded" anything, a lot of people feel that the state will have "lost" in competition with its forty-nine brothers.

Though it finally agreed in March to conduct the heat flow and salt radiation studies so passionately requested, the AEC has handled the clamor in a style Hambleton calls "lateral arabesque. . . . Each time the AEC is faced

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

Because of postal regulations, *The Nation*'s mailing list must be arranged according to Zip Codes. Therefore—with *any* correspondence about address changes, renewals, etc.—please enclose the address label from your *Nation*. If you don't have a label, be sure to include your Zip number, and *be sure it is correct*. Without it, we cannot find your name plate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with a decisive question, the question is delicately sidestepped. . . . The AEC will yield just as much as it has to in order to gain its objectives and will attempt to override all opposition with the sheer weight of its total resources. . . . In our contacts with the scientists and engineers at Oak Ridge National Laboratory, we have been impressed with their forthrightness, candor and technical competence. However, whenever our questions were referred to a higher echelon in the AEC, we were met with silence, delay or evasion. . . . We have had cause to question . . . the credibility of the AEC."

At first, Hambleton was willing to let the AEC proceed with site acquisition, since he assumed that, being a reasonable scientist asking reasonable questions, his concerns would be shared. But questions from the state geological survey have been greeted with "arrogance," he said, and the AEC treated the survey's initial concerns "as of little consequence." Now Hambleton wants to block the portion of the proposed appropriation that would go for land purchase.

Skubitz has spent the better part of a year trying to get some straight answers—with little success. In a letter to AEC Chairman Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, he accused the AEC of "bureaucratic double talk, the Orwellian jargon that war is peace," and added: "It is obvious why the AEC has become increasingly suspect and why Kansas citizens must become increasingly wary of AEC machinations." Skubitz is fond of saying that "the AEC is trying to play God" and that commission bureaucrats feel Kansans are "country bumpkins."

Governor Docking also is piqued. "I do not want this repository in Kansas until a majority of Kansas scientists and citizens are satisfied it will be safe. At this time, I am not satisfied it will be safe—and neither are a majority of Kansas citizens and scientists. . . . I resent the high-handedness of some AEC officials in the 'steamroller' approach to moving ahead with plans for the repository at Lyons."

Lyons, a farm city of about 5,000 persons, located in the center of the state, is officially prepared to place absolute trust in the AEC. The commission has told the city fathers that the project will bring new jobs and new industry into Lyons. But aside from the 200 persons who will be required to run the disposal plant once it gets into high gear about 1980, one wonders what there is about several thousand tons of high-level atomic waste material, lying 1,000 feet underground at the end of a dusty lane called 5th Street, that will attract new industry. A study aided by the Boeing Company has produced no answer to this question. However the Mayor, the leading banker and the Lyons *Daily News* stand solidly behind the AEC, and the criticism that is building undoubtedly galls them. One Lyons citizen said he was told by a member of the Chamber of Commerce not to attend a forum on the project in Wichita. The large capacity for trust displayed by the citizens of Lyons is said to be inspired by the sure and certain knowledge that the federal government wouldn't put something in their town that wasn't safe, practical or necessary to the American way of life. Residents are quoted in the state and national press as saying they know the AEC is O.K. because they went to church with AEC scientists for several years; that atomic energy "is something that kept me from having to storm the beaches of Japan"; that Lyons "just couldn't get a cleaner industry," and that "it's about the grandest thing that could happen to a place." Mayor Robert Briscoe sums it up: "It all boils down to who you put your faith in. . . . We put ours in AEC."

But you don't have to spend much time in Lyons to discover that the local citizens are neither "country bumpkins" about the project nor owned by the Chamber of Commerce, and that their placid acquiescence has been considerably overplayed. A teen-age girl says that the AEC should conduct more studies and that the project scares her. A middle-aged service station operator believes most people in the area really are opposed. An elderly woman comments that she's for it, but that public ardor has cooled considerably of late, probably as a response to the statewide cry for more studies and more investigation. One of the most vexing problems posed by the "Lyons Nuclear Park" is the long-term nature of the danger; the response of some Lyons middle-aged folk is curious: "Well, we won't be around if anything goes wrong, anyway."

Some Kansans now are preparing efforts designed to insure that nothing goes wrong at any time. Skubitz already has testified before the House Public Works Committee, which held hearings during May on the $3.5 million appropriation for land purchase and project design. The House Appropriations Committee should report to the floor of the House some time in July on the request. The AEC, meanwhile, has asked the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy to increase the commission budget by $1 million for the additional safety studies. One project critic calls the AEC's safety studies' request a "sop" to speed approval of the $3.5 million.

If the AEC does obtain its money, the Kansas Sierra Club is planning to file an injunction halting the project. Ron Baxter, club chairman, feels such an injunction could be obtained "easily," and the club wants it to stick until AEC comes up with an environmental statement that meets the approval of the President's Environmental Council and until additional studies are reviewed and O.K.d by *independent* scientific sources. And Governor Docking has already asked the Kansas Attorney General to prepare some kind of injunctive relief to enforce the moratorium.

Even though salt flow and radiation studies are still incomplete (if done properly, they may require one to two years), the AEC remains adamant. Dr. Seaborg is full of assurances that no atomic waste will be put into the Lyons salt mine until all safety questions are answered, but the AEC continues to insist that money for the land purchase and project design be appropriated (and the project, thus, in effect begun) so that "safety studies are not delayed."

Kansans, into whose backyard will be placed commercial nuclear wastes ten to thirty times as radioactive as military wastes now being produced, are not convinced that the project must get started before all possible precautions are taken. On the other hand, there is little or no "scare" opposition to the mere concept of such a project

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in Kansas. Kansans want to believe that all is well; they are not worried by the "mushroom cloud" myth; if AEC plans are proved safe and sane, most reluctance will disappear.

Although the AEC seems to be opening up a little in response to criticism being heaped on it, answers and solutions have not been the commission's primary consideration. It admits that it sees the disposal of nuclear waste as secondary to the development of commercial nuclear power. Sen. Frank Church has calculated that the commission has spent billions on the development of atomic energy in the last twenty-five years and only $50 million in research on waste disposal. Now the AEC has promised to stop the Lyons project if it determines that the plans are unsafe. Will it? What if an independent scientific review disputes AEC's findings or draws from them conclusions different from those of the commission? Will the AEC then halt the project? Can the AEC, or any government agency, be an effective watchdog over its own conduct? Kansas is not reassured. □

ILGWU: THE OLD AGE OF A UNION

DAVID GUMPERT
Mr. Gumpert is a reporter with a national financial journal.

Ray is a 28-year-old pushboy who, for $84.50 a week, carts racks of dresses through Manhattan's garment district. Ray is black and married, with three children; as might be expected, he's rather bitter about his job situation.

"They just give you enough so you have your strength," he says of his employer. "You can't even go to the movies."

Ray is a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. About the union that "won" him his current wages in negotiations last year, he is equally depressed. "They hold onto your job for you. But you don't ever get more than the owner wants to give."

Ray is one reason why, when the Nixon Administration seeks to identify those unions responsible for what it believes to be excessive wage demands, it most assuredly doesn't look at the 442,000-member ILGWU. In fact, if it pursued the subject, the Administration might decide to use the ILGWU as the model of a union that holds wages down on its own accord. While New York's newspaper workers were last year negotiating three-year contracts calling for wage increases *in excess* of 40 per cent, the ILGWU was signing contracts that specified hikes *up to* 20 per cent over three years. And many ILGWU members were making less than half what the newspaper workers earned even before the negotiations.

Inequities exist on a national scale. According to the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics in New York, whereas the average American factory worker earns more than $130 a week, the average ladies' garment worker makes about $83. New York City garment workers fare better than most, averaging $107 a week, mainly because of overtime.

The story is much the same for pensions. The ILGWU's 55,000 retirees receive pensions of between $59.50 and $85 a month, the bulk of them getting $75. By contrast, the United Auto Workers recently negotiated pensions of up to $500 a month, and New York City policemen, firemen and sanitationmen can retire at half pay after twenty years.

This less than heroic struggle is being made by a union that has total assets of approximately $800 million, making it one of the nation's wealthiest unions. Its pension fund now contains about $300 million and it steadily rises.

Thus it is not surprising that within the ILGWU disaffection is at a peak these days. What is surprising is that the dissension has expressed itself as openly and as widely as it has, for in the past the ILGWU has ruled with an iron hand, viewing internal critics as "troublemakers" and treating them as such. Even now, when David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU for thirty-four years until 1966 and now in charge of retiree programs, is asked about internal dissension, he rambles on about "the Commies."

Retirees have taken to the streets, parading through the garment district and in front of ILGWU headquarters to protest the union's low pensions. Blacks, who are for the most part consigned to the lowest paying jobs, have begun organizing themselves and last February sponsored a slate of candidates in a Brooklyn local to run against the entrenched officers. A number of mostly white skilled workers of another New York local also organized a slate of candidates to oppose the union slate.

Although both slates were decisively defeated, the fact that they were organized is a radical development within the ILGWU, where officers are accustomed to running unopposed. That fact was underscored at the union's national convention in Miami Beach last month, when Louis Stulberg was re-elected president and secretary-treasurer without opposition.

But even at the obviously well-orchestrated convention, there were signs of restlessness. About fifty retirees passed out to convention delegates leaflets blasting the union's pension program. Resolutions backed by about twenty-five locals to reverse the union's position on the war in Vietnam from support of President Nixon's policy to immediate withdrawal, and to increase the monthly pension were introduced before the resolutions committee. Although they weren't acted upon, their relatively widespread backing is notable within the ILGWU frame of reference.

Those in the garment industry who have a kind word for the ILGWU are the manufacturers. "Compared with other unions [ILGWU] demands aren't excessive," says

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an official of the New York Coat and Suit Association, which negotiates contracts with the ILGWU. The union's only large-scale strike in recent decades was a one-week walkout by 110,000 workers in 1958.

The ILGWU's current problems stem from several long deteriorating situations. Internally, it is in the hands of old, inflexible leaders who view members with contempt and cynicism. "They're trying desperately to stay in power," says a younger high-ranking staff member. Externally, the ILGWU is a victim of economics. The industry is made up of many small manufacturers for whom labor costs are an important part of expenses. Thus the industry has fallen prey to competition from Asia, where labor is exceedingly cheap. And the ILGWU hasn't exactly racked its brains for a satisfactory long-term solution to the problem.

In the hope of maintaining a *status quo* of sorts between the union and the industry, ILGWU leaders are looking to import-quota legislation still before Congress. Thus, while serving as an example of the depths to which the American labor movement is capable of sinking, the ILGWU is also an important illustration of just what the trade legislation would protect.

The ILGWU's current difficulties are the more poignant because they follow upon a proud and innovative past, during which the union pioneered many practices that are today taken for granted by organized labor. Almost since its inception in 1900, the ILGWU has been regarded as "a gateway union," affording immigrants and various urban newcomers a chance to be absorbed into the mainstream of American economic life.

Its political influence is still taken seriously by Presidential aspirants. Three Democrats—Senators Muskie, Humphrey and Jackson—showed up at the ILGWU's convention to deliver speeches and court support for next year's nominating battle.

The union has been credited with leading the way to eliminating the abominable factory conditions that plagued many workers early in the century. For some old-time liberals, that is still its image. "It has been one of our great trade unions," says Arthur Goldberg. "It brought many immigrants out of the sweatshops."

In 1910, the ILGWU established the nation's first union health center, and in 1915 it opened Unity House, a resort in the Pocono Mountains, as the first union vacation retreat. The union won the country's first forty-hour, five-day week contract in 1923 and then, ten years later, negotiated the first thirty-five-hour, five-day week. It established the first employer-financed pooled vacation fund in 1937 and in 1943 set up the first employee-financed pooled retirement fund. By the end of World War II, ILGWU members were among the highest paid workers in the country. In some areas, such as dressmaking, they earned even more than auto and steel workers.

Since then, however, the road has been nearly all downhill. "The ILGWU, perhaps more than any other major union, symbolizes the degeneration of the American labor movement," observes Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP. The union's decline, he adds, "is all the more significant because of its early pioneering radicalism."

Mr. Hill attributes the fall in large part to the way the union has reacted to the large flow of blacks, Puerto Ricans and other nonwhites into its ranks after World War II. Today, the union states that it is more than 30 per cent nonwhite; by Mr. Hill's estimate, the figure is nearer 50 per cent. He asserts that in the area of wages the ILGWU has worked successfully for only its relatively small number of skilled workers, to the detriment of larger numbers of unskilled workers. For instance, pressers and cutters, the skilled workmen who prepare garments for the sewing process, not infrequently earn in excess of $10,000 a year, while unskilled workers such as examiners, cleaners, pushboys and shipping clerks usually make about $4,000. The skilled workers are predominately white, the unskilled workers predominately nonwhite.

The racial issue received national publicity in 1962 when a Congressional committee on education and labor investigated the ILGWU's labor practices. The hearings began with much furor, but ended quietly with no committee recommendations being issued. The union claims the issue died down because the committee couldn't come up with any evidence to support charges of racial discrimination. Committee staff members contend that the ILGWU used its considerable political influence to call off the probe.

One ILGWU member who testified at the hearings was Florence Rice, who now heads the Harlem Consumer Education Council, a black community group. Mrs. Rice, formerly a sewing-machine operator, had been an ILGWU member for fifteen years. She told the committee that her complaints about alleged wage discrimination against blacks and Puerto Ricans were ignored by ILGWU business agents. Mrs. Rice also testified that she had been warned by ILGWU officials that if she appeared before the committee she might lose her job. Committee members told her not to worry, but soon after the hearings, Mrs. Rice says, she found herself out of work.

Largely because of experiences like Mrs. Rice's, ILGWU blacks have organized themselves secretly, gener-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ally avoiding the kind of publicity that might allow the union to find out who is involved and so crush the movement. The only exception has been Brooklyn Local 155 that sponsored the opposition slate last February. Burton Hall, a lawyer for the dissidents, charges that several opposition candidates were threatened with physical violence for their stands and contends that such threats were largely responsible for the slate's lopsided loss by an approximately 9-to-1 margin. Mr. Hill estimates that as many as 800 ILGWU blacks in the New York area have organized underground caucuses in an attempt to form a basis for opposition to the current local and national leadership.

Up to now, however, the national ILGWU leadership hasn't tried to create even an illusion of fair membership representation. A single Puerto Rican is the only nonwhite among the twenty-three members of the union's general executive board, its highest governing body. He is Alberto Sanchez, 64, and he's hardly a militant. When asked if he had pressed for greater minority group representation within the ILGWU, he said, "I don't pay much attention to this." He adds that he's convinced the ILGWU will reward hard-working nonwhites, but says, "They have to work their way up."

Women suffer a similar discrimination. Though the union's membership is 80 per cent female, only one woman sits on the general executive board. She is Mrs. Angela Bombace, 60, and, like Mr. Sanchez, she accepts the situation with equanimity. She explains that "there has never been more than one" woman on the board, and therefore she's not bothered. She adds that "an effort should be made" to attract more women to positions of union leadership, but when asked whether she has urged the idea on the union, says, "No, there's been no talk about it."

But possibly the most cynical reaction to the near absence of nonwhite and women representatives at the top of the union hierarchy comes from Louis Stulberg, the 69-year-old ILGWU president. When asked about the virtual exclusion of Puerto Ricans and blacks, he becomes visibly angry. "You're proceeding on the assumption that in 1969 and 1970 some people got together and formed a union. This union is seventy years old."

On the topic of women, he tried to combine humor with his annoyance at having been questioned on the subject. "Women are very peculiar," he says. "I once tried to promote one. She went off and married a man. What the hell can I do?"

Nor is dissension within the ILGWU limited to low-paid, nonwhite or female members. Unhappy rank and file in Local 10, the skilled cutters' local, have organized themselves into a group known as the United Cutters Welfare League, and ran a slate of candidates against the union's slate last February. They fared somewhat better than the Brooklyn local, losing by less than 2 to 1. The cutters, many of whom earn more than $10,000 a year, contend that to make that much they must work fifty-five hours a week. Their base pay, they say, is set at $130 a week in most ILGWU contracts—hardly a top wage for skilled labor.

They also declare that many of the older cutters are unable to retire, even though they qualify, because they could not live on the $75 monthly pension. If the ILGWU raised the pension to $150 or so monthly, they say, several hundred cutters would retire immediately, increasing the demand for those remaining in the trade. The shortage, they argue further, would permit their wages to rise, thus creating additional money for the pension fund, in case it is needed for new retirees.

The cutters' argument isn't without holes, as the ILGWU is quick to point out to anyone who asks why its workers aren't earning more. "We've had to take account of the realities of the situation" in wage negotiations, says Lazare Teper, ILGWU research director and resident economist, in conceding that the union hasn't pushed as hard as it might on wages.

To Mr. Teper, the "realities of the situation" are that large numbers of garment manufacturers have left New York over the years. The city lost 54,000 jobs in the 1960s, shrinking the number of workers from 279,000 to 225,000 over ten years, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the minds of Mr. Teper and the other ILGWU leaders, the original cause of this exodus is imports from Japan and Hong Kong. Limit the flow of imports, they urge, along with other protectionists, and manufacturers here won't be under as great pressure to find cheap labor, and the *status quo* will be saved.

Yet those familiar with the problems of labor-intensive industry are skeptical about the value of import restrictions, both to the nation as a whole and to the workers whose jobs would be protected. Paul Samuelson, the M.I.T. Nobelist in economics, has advocated that the United States forget about maintaining industries that cannot compete effectively with foreign sources and concentrate its energies in the high technology areas where it can realistically compete.

I. D. Robbins, a trustee and former president of the City Club of New York, puts his views in much simpler terms. "You're going to have to get rid of the garment industry in New York City," he says. He looks at it from a civic point of view. "As long as the garment industry is a low-paid industry, it can't do anything for New York City."

In a sense, then, the union has become a double victim —of its own lethargy and inflexibility and of economic trends—and it now finds itself grasping at foreign import quotas. Yet, given some inspired leadership, the ILGWU might still be in a position to fight its economic problems without the aid of trade legislation.

As one possibility, it could reach out more actively to organize those shops that have moved from New York to the South and Midwest in search of cheap labor. Certainly with $800 million in assets, it is in a position to do so. Then manufacturers would have less incentive to move and would have to seek other ways to cut costs. One result might be increased automation which, while it would probably reduce the total number of jobs, would undoubtedly raise wages for those still working.

Other innovations are possible if the desire and imagination and concern are present. The cost might be a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

diminishing of the union's membership and influence, but that is a small price to pay for improving the workers' lot.

As it is, however, the possibility that reform elements will take over the ILGWU's leadership appears to be remote, and it will become still more unlikely with the institution of import restrictions. So the ILGWU goes about its businesss of dying a slow death, taking along with it many of its members. If President Nixon gets the trade legislation he has sought, it will only encourage the union's entrenched leadership and prolong the agony. □

SUGAR QUOTA

SWEET BONUS FOR APARTHEID

BRUCE J. OUDES
Mr. Oudes is a Washington-based writer who has written extensively on African affairs.

Washington

The Nixon Administration has quietly endorsed the renewal of the almost $5 million annual U.S. foreign aid program for South Africa. That is a small but politically significant and potentially vulnerable part of the gigantic sugar sweepstakes, worth more than $250 million a year to world sugar producers who have an "in" with Washington.

For the first time in six years, Congress, with Administration blessing, is going through the ritual of refilling that sugar bowl—the Sugar Act of 1934. The legislation seems in little danger of long overdue fundamental revision, despite the resistance of Rep. Paul Findley (R., Ill.), who has violated the antediluvian atmosphere of the House Agriculture Committee by daring to suggest that sugar imports, now totaling 45 per cent of U.S. consumption, be thrown open to competitive bidding.

Findley, however, must fight against the sugar lobby, whose legions pack every hearing. They include the son of House Democratic leader Hale Boggs, former Rep. Harold Cooley (D., N. C.), who was chairman of the Agriculture Committee until four years ago, and former Republican Senate Whip Thomas Kuchel of California. As recently as 1959, Cuba and the Philippines held a virtual monopoly on U.S. sugar imports, but Washington's distaste for Fidel Castro changed all that. A few weeks ago, the representatives of no less than thirty-eight foreign countries came before the Agriculture Committee to seek a share of the lucrative import quotas, the euphemism for an official, no-strings foreign aid boon at the expense of U.S. consumers and the balance of payments.

The committee is now considering how the sugar pie shall be carved up, rather than whether there should be a pie at all. The situation is highly vulnerable to what one Congressional aide who works for an Agriculture Committee member called "sweeteners." He said: "I'm convinced at least some votes are being bought, but I can't put my finger on which ones or how." What seems self-evident is that the opportunity for kickbacks proliferates in proportion to the number of America's subsidized foreign sugar suppliers.

Further, as the number of foreign suppliers increases, along with their percentage of the U.S. sugar market, the sugar bill begins to look increasingly like a piece of foreign affairs legislation in agricultural clothing. That is what attracts the interest of the State Department which, in an era when foreign aid is tight, doesn't want to lose yet another source of political leverage abroad.

The official Administration argument for renewal of the law is that it assures a steady supply of sugar at a controlled, if high, price. Quota holders, it is held, are morally bound to supply the United States with sugar, even if the world price should exceed the American price. The last time that happened was during the Cuban sugar marketing readjustment in the early sixties, a crisis in which the United States was not exactly an innocent bystander. "It's a rather high premium to pay for an insurance policy," one observer commented.

With both Congress and the Administration sitting on the *status quo,* reformers are given small chance of getting their fingers deep into sugar. On the domestic side of the bill, Representative Findley hopes to limit subsidy payments to domestic growers to $55,000, a move which would hurt producers primarily in California, Hawaii, Florida, Louisiana and Puerto Rico. On the foreign side, Congressional Neanderthals seek to insert amendments in retaliation for Latin American nationalizations and fishing rights disputes—a form of coercion that would horrify the State Department. In testimony before the Agricultural Committee on May 6, Assistant Secretary of State Julius Katz made a particular point of rejecting the suggestion made to the committee by W. R. Grace & Co., that the United States impose a $15 per ton duty on sugar coming from countries where U.S.-owned sugar producers have been nationalized. Grace may have been thinking of Peru, where its property was taken over in an agrarian reform program.

Peru, the Dominican Republic, Mexico and Brazil make up the "Latin Big Four" quota holders, each contributing roughly 10 per cent of annual U.S. sugar imports at a premium of upward of $30 million each. The most important foreign supplier, however, is still the Philippines, which goes on supplying one-quarter of U.S. sugar imports at a windfall of $75 million or so per year.

Arrayed behind these five, twenty-six other suppliers compete for the remaining 35 per cent of the quota. In that group is the Republic of South Africa, which never exported sugar to the United States until Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the father of apartheid, led his country out of the Commonwealth in the early sixties. That, coincidentally, was when Washington was trying to punish Cuba by buying sugar elsewhere. When South Africa

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lost its preference in the British market, its American friends stepped in and bought nearly 20 per cent of South Africa's sugar exports during the readjustment period; it has settled down to 7 per cent in recent years.

Responding to the rising indignation against apartheid among students, church groups and blacks, two to three dozen members of the House, including the black caucus, are pushing for an amendment to the act that would strip South Africa of its quota. The group is headed by a trio of New Yorkers, John Dow, Ogden Reid and Jonathan Bingham. In the Senate the campaign is sponsored by Sen. Edward Kennedy.

The significance of the move lies not merely in the fact that it may be, for liberals, the most congenial action on the Sugar Act in the Congressional mill, but also that it will mark the first time the unadorned question of South Africa's *popularity* is put to a poll, in the Senate or the House. If the votes are recorded, as the backers hope, it will mean that the Congressional apartheid lobby will have to stand and be counted for the first time, risking the later wrath at the polls of some of their young, churchgoing, and black constituents.

A most important aspect of the South African sugar quota issue is that as a gift it cuts across the lines that separate American liberals who disagree on the question of whether economic isolation would induce change in South Africa. The potential for a united front on the quota issue was implicit in testimony given May 3 by Congressman Dow before the Agriculture Committee, of which he is a member. "I do not want to invoke retaliation as a good ground for conducting our affairs. Retaliation is a weak weapon for international relations," Dow said. "I am one who believes we should maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa. I believe we should trade with South Africa. I believe we should not interfere with South Africa's internal affairs. But I do not believe we should bestow rewards upon a nation that blatantly offends transcendent principles of human relations. The sugar quota is not an economic necessity in any respect. It is a bonus, a reward to friends, an act of special favor. South Africa is not deserving of this benign provision. . . ."

The New York Congressmen use the Agriculture Committee's own stated criteria for sugar quota eligibility to strengthen their case against South Africa. Among these are the prospective quota country's "state of and need for economic development," its "socioeconomic policies," and its "friendly" relations with the United States, "including nondiscrimination against U.S. citizens in the quota country." The Congressmen note that according to present executive regulations governing foreign investment flow, South Africa is considered a "developed" country. They note the racial segregation that Americans visiting South Africa must endure. And, as Representative Reid put it, "It is quite clear who gets the lion's share of that $5 million annual subsidy. It is certainly not the workers; rather, it is the fifteen [sugar] corporations which employ them under inhuman conditions."

The Administration's position on the issue is an ambiguous straddle in favor of retaining the South Africa quota. In his testimony, Assistant Secretary Katz, so voluble in his opposition to retaliation against Latin America, uttered not a peep on South Africa. Questioned afterward by two reporters, Katz said he had "no comment" on the Dow-Reid-Bingham proposal. Asked point blank if he favored continuing the South African quota, he referred to that part of his testimony which recommended "that changes in the quotas be minimal." In other words, he went as far as he could to urge retention of the South African quota without flatly asking for it—thus leaving the Administration with an emergency escape route should the debate grow hot on the Hill. Later, in a reply to the black caucus, the Administration, referring to South Africa, said it "does not support the elimination of the quota for any country on political grounds alone."

This tacit endorsement of an annual dole is consistent with the President's previous stands on Southern African questions. He has refrained from pressing Britain not to sell arms to Pretoria, and he has loosened the American arms embargo to permit the sale of refittable "executive" jets to the South African Government. In all, he seems to favor a rather more benign abhorrence of South Africa than did his Democratic predecessors. On May 24, Vice President Agnew received South African Information Minister Cornelius Mulder, the highest level contact between the two governments in more than a decade.

As for the Democrats, inasmuch as the centrist Sen. Edmund Muskie has established his opposition to Nixon's South African policies on a variety of issues, it would seem that other Democratic hopefuls could hardly do less. Should it catch the imagination of leading Democrats, particularly in the Senate, the South Africa sugar quota issue could result in a vote of confidence on the Administration's South African policies.

If the Democrats relegate it to the "back of the bus" priority usually accorded African affairs, then the segregationists of the apartheid lobby will probably carry

Golden

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the day. However, should the Congress vote to strip South Africa of its quota, it would constitute the most broadly based and solemn denunciation of South Africa ever issued by the United States. It would be much more effective in bringing home to South Africa the depth of American feeling on its racial policy than any simple executive announcement eliminating the quota. It might shake white South African public opinion more than has any Olympic ban, arms embargo or anti-apartheid demonstrations.

Whether South Africa ultimately gets its quota renewed or not, the run through Congress of a simple matter involving an annual gift of a few million U.S. dollars nevertheless will disclose a good deal about the present state of American opinion regarding our stubborn—but white—South African "friends." □

'TREASON, SABOTAGE, SEDITION'

New Tool Kit for a Police State

LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH
Mr. Fernsworth was a staff correspondent in Spain for The Times *of London during both the Republican and Civil War periods. He is the author of* Spain's Struggle for Freedom *(Beacon Press) and other books on that country.*

Washington

A series of bills now pending in Congress would empower a vast policing apparatus to explore every cranny of political heresy, give the FBI expanded powers for summoning and questioning citizens, and at the same time stay the arm of the courts. These bills, one of whose major effects would be to crush anti-war and other demonstrations of the citizenry against official practices by labeling them "treason, sabotage, sedition," will probably not be passed in the next session of Congress. But they are harbingers of a frightening new repressive spirit in the country; they envisage a coercion that is qualitatively more rigorous than the snooping and character assassination indulged in for so long by the investigating committees; they deserve the widest possible discussion and warrant the utmost public vigilance.

These bills have emerged from the Senate and the House Internal Security Committees. They would render federal courts powerless to impose constitutional and statutory limitations on the activities of such committees under the constitutional doctrine of the separation of powers. They would annul a series of Supreme Court decisions affecting the rights of citizens and the powers of federal agencies, such as the attempt by the now moribund Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) to oblige "subversives" to register and to restrict their right to employment.

Underpinning these proposals is a greatly augmented FBI apparatus. J. Edgar Hoover has appeared before Congressional Appropriations Committees to present a blueprint of his plans for the future that seems to have been drawn up in anticipation of increased authority to be conferred upon the agency by the bills that are now simmering.

Six bills have emerged from the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee; they are sponsored by that committee's chairman, Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi. One all-inclusive bill has been introduced by Chairman Richard H. Ichord of the House Internal Security Committee—the old un-American Activities Committee.

The Eastland series, which dovetail with one another as new titles or amendments to such existing legislation as the Internal Security Act of 1950, would establish a "Security Administration for Executive Departments . . . subordinate only to the President of the United States." Its administrator would be a kind of alternate attorney general, who could at the same time be chairman of SACB.

The thrust of the Eastland bills is indicated by their titles: Government Security Act of 1971; Internal Security Act; Security Offenses Act; Congressional Inquiries Act; Immigration and Passport Securities Act; Foreign Agents Registration Amendments.

Ichord's bill, which last year came out of his committee with the lone dissent of committee member Louis Stokes, brother of Cleveland's black Mayor Carl B. Stokes, was passed by the House in the last session but got hung up in its companion Senate subcommittee—quite obviously because Eastland had plans of his own. It has been reintroduced "as is" as Title IV of the present Internal Security Act, with its own special title as Defense Facilities and Security Act. Stokes in his dissent blasted it unmercifully as "a sweeping nullification of personal liberties under the guise of protecting the country from acts of subversion."

The Senate and the House bills aim at rejuvenating and expanding SACB which, even though "dead" for the present, is fully financed and staffed. The Supreme Court rendered it powerless in the case of Eugene F. Robel in 1967 when it upheld his refusal to register as a subversive. The White House has been pushing to get SACB going again. Brooklyn's Rep. John J. Rooney made this evident in the House last year when he explained why $400,000 to keep the board alive was left in the Judiciary Appropriation: "I wanted to strike out the appropriation but the White House wouldn't O.K. eliminating the request. The White House is trying to find something for it to do."

Last October, Hoover began hiring 1,000 new FBI agents, even before getting the appropriation to pay them. As he explained at the hearings, he was adding them at the rate of fifty every Monday. He asked for and obtained an extra $14,150,000 for those 1,000 new agents plus 702 clerks. With this added personnel, his staff comes to 18,537, while his total augmented appropriation reaches

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$274,253,000. He has said he intends to increase the FBI personnel year after year and to ask regularly for more money.

The attack on the judiciary is particularly ominous. The respective Internal Security committees have in the past been reprimanded by the federal courts, including the Supreme Court, for such actions as converting their hearings into trials of American citizens, seeking to deny them their rights of association and speech, and maintaining blacklists. In one of the cases, a Coast Guard engineer was denied a certificate because of his reported reading habits and his refusal to answer questions which he considered "obnoxious." The Supreme Court upheld his right to a certificate. All federal courts would be forbidden jurisdiction in that field by the proposed legislation. The House bill, going even further than the Eastland bills, would annul a whole series of Supreme Court decisions, mainly from the pen of former Chief Justice Earl Warren, protecting the rights of citizens in their relations with SACB, and in other respects.

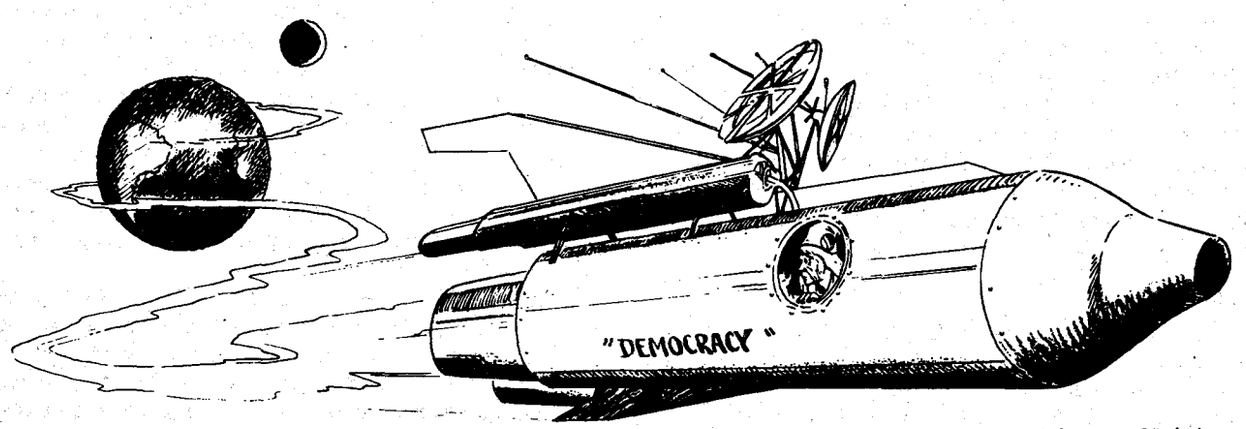
The House bill attacks other decisions in areas unrelated to SACB. In one provision it brands resort to the Fifth Amendment as "obstruction of inquiry," a kind of rule that the Court (*Garrity* vs. *New Jersey*, 1967) called giving a witness "a choice between the rock and the whirlpool." This bill denies an employee or job applicant access to the courts until administrative proceedings are exhausted. Nor is there provision for full disclosure of charges or for cross-examination of adverse witnesses.

One of the six Eastland bills seeks to revitalize the Smith Act by punishing an organization that believes in the necessity or desirability of forcibly overthrowing the government. The American Civil Liberties Union, in testimony before Eastland's committee, asserted that it eliminates the constitutional requirement of proving a clear and present danger of incitement to illegal action before punishing such speech or association. Called the Security Offenses Act (S1499), it would enact the country's first peacetime treason law by punishing anyone who "knowingly and willfully gives aid and comfort to an adversary," not of the United States as such but of the U.S. armed forces. "This could include sending food to civilians in North Vietnam or marching in anti-war protests," states the ACLU.

At the heart of the Eastland program are the proposed Government Security Act of 1971 (S1504) and the Internal Security Act of 1971 (S1502) which supplement each other. The keyword of these bills is "conspiracy." The scope of the "conspiracy" is indicated by the definition of a Communist-action organization as being an integral part of the conspiracy "in furtherance of Communist objectives." The kind of organizations meant is suggested by past hearings before the Senate subcommittee, of which the Eastland bills are the fruit. The list includes most, if not all, citizens' groups engaged in anti-war movements. Among "subversive" organizations named at various times in the hearings are: The National Lawyers Guild, SANE, Sino-American Friendship Society, Young Socialist Club, People Against Racism, New Politics Party, National Community Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Venceremos Brigade, Du Bois Clubs, Students for a Democratic Society, White (as also the Black) Panther Party, Radical Education Project, Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Progressive Labor Party, three maritime unions, National Peace Coalition and People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

The administrator of the Security Administration for Executive Departments (SAED) is to supervise these wide-ranging programs. He is to serve for ten years or until a successor is named—which could mean almost forever. He could not be removed except for misfeasance or neglect. As chairman also of the Subversive Activities Control Board he could have two deputies, one for investigations and the other for evaluations. His powers under the bill "shall be co-extensive with and shall be exercised in the same manner as the similar powers conferred on the Attorney General of the United States."

The SAED is to have jurisdiction over the security programs of all other executive agencies, which are required to transfer to SAED "all personnel or security files held or controlled by those agencies," all of which are to be funneled to the FBI. More specifically the SAED—called the "Administration"—is to transfer to the FBI all personnel security cases "found to involve subversive activity." At the same time, "the Administration and any other agency engaged in hearing a loyalty case" for the purpose of federal employment is given the power to issue subpoenas and to administer oaths. Undercover agents are exempted from the evidentiary process, as well as from producing raw evidence or any intelligence file.



Vadillo, Siempre (Mexico)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A $500 fine and/or six months' imprisonment are the penalties for refusing to testify. The Civil Service Loyalty Board, with all records and funds, is to be transferred to the SAED. The possibilities of a super, centralized blacklist are apparent.

Although subpoenas are to be limited to personnel security hearings, this is an entering wedge of the kind well known in new legislative programs. The next step could be a plea for blanket subpoena powers for the FBI and other indicated agencies.

Three categories of citizens are subject to investigation: members of any organization designated Communist or Communist-related in one way or another; government employees or applicants for government or defense industry jobs; U.S. citizens who are members of international organizations, with particular reference to the United Nations. The attacks leveled by the late Joseph McCarthy against what he termed infiltration of the U.N. by American "Reds" would now, after two decades, bring action.

The "Administration" (SAED) is to maintain constant supervision over the security officers of executive agencies and "shall conduct continuing surveys and inspections" of their "regulations, practices and procedures." These officers are to be rendered more proficient by training programs. The safeguards afforded federal employees are more apparent than real. For instance, when an employee is removed from his position "other than for reasons involving the individual's loyalty," he is to be protected from "adverse publicity." This a backhanded way of saying that an employee not only has no protection against being pilloried as "disloyal" but may in fact be so pilloried under color of law.

As to international bodies like the U.N., no citizen may accept employment therein until he has been "cleared." He is required to bare all the details of his life, report every arrest, whether convicted or not, except traffic cases; must say whether he has ever been denied a passport; must be fingerprinted. His record is to be checked in every "investigative or intelligence agency of the executive branch and appropriate files of any committee or subcommittee of Congress." (The House Internal Security Committee maintains files of 174,000 individuals or groups.) An applicant may be fined up to $10,000, imprisoned for five years, or both, for noncompliance, a false statement or an omission.

This bill, says the American Civil Liberties Union in a statement to the Eastland subcommittee, "creates a new federal crime. Any person 'having the purpose of helping to bring about the overthrow (not forcible overthrow) of the government of the U.S. or any state, territory, possession, county, parish, city,' etc., who urges, advises or solicits the use of force by another for advancement of this purpose would be subject to fine or imprisonment. No intent to engage in illegal activity need be shown. This could include a civil rights leader who exhorts his followers to 'tear down the slums' or 'fight the establishment.'"

The State Department's Office of Security is to be taken out of the hands of that department and staffed "entirely by civil service employees." This provision obviously strikes back at the State Department for deactivating its former security chief, Otto Otepka, after he had gone over the heads of the Secretary of State and his delegates in the matter of security, and placed the department's security data in the hands of the Senate subcommittee, then headed by the late Sen. Thomas Dodd. For this, the Secretary separated Otepka from his security office and gave him the job of reading and summarizing the *Congressional Record*.

Dovetailing with the Government Security Act (or Federal Personal Security Act) which has just been described is the bill (S1502) which gives particular attention to reactivation of the Subversive Activities Control Board. The board's mission is to screen every category of presumed subversive activity and to register both subversive organizations and their members. The legislation gets around the Supreme Court decision in the Robel case, and the board is also empowered to dissolve any organization it brands subversive.

The bill recognizes three different kinds of organizations as subversive, namely: Communist, Communist-action and Communist-infiltrated. It is made a criminal act for any member of an organization designated as Communist or Communist-action to seek employment in a defense facility. The inhibition against Communist-infiltrated organizations is directed specifically at labor groups. It permits a lone union member to file a petition requiring the board to investigate a union to determine whether it has members who at any time in the past belonged to a Communist organization.

The custodians of any records or other documents belonging to a dissolved organization are required to report the possession thereof to the board and hold them subject to the board's orders. An employer is entitled to discharge "without liability" any person who is a member of a "subversive" organization, or who has concealed his membership therein or has refused to confess present or past membership before a Congressional legislative committee.

A third Eastland bill, the Security Offenses Act of 1971 (S1449), gives wide-ranging definition of "war and national defense premises." One of its provisions extends to fifteen years the statute of limitations for offenses under its terms. It strikes at "whoever knowingly or willfully advocates, abets, advises or teaches the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying the government of the United States or the government of any state," etc., by force, violence or assassination. It strikes specifically at the kind of war protesters who oppose the U.S. involvement in Indochina.

By its terms, giving aid to "an adversary of the U.S. by an overt act" subjects the offenders to fines and imprisonment up to $10,000 and ten years. It says "an adversary means any foreign nation or armed group which is engaged in open hostilities against the U.S. or with which the armed forces of the U.S. are engaged in open hostilities."

This bill would for the first time make it criminal, if not treasonable, to oppose warfare against an adversary in an undeclared war. It would outlaw all those anti-war *cum* peace demonstrations held in the national capital, as well as in some other cities. It becomes unlawful to re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cruit, form, regroup or expand "new or existing units, clubs, classes or sections" of any "society, group or assembly" of persons considered subversive.

A fourth Eastland bill, the "Congressional Inquiries Act" (S1501), attempts to cripple the United States courts, the Supreme Court included, in actions related to the investigations of Congressional committees. This of course relates primarily to the internal security committees. The restrictions which the courts have imposed on their activities would no longer apply. They would have leave to roam as they please. The law would be what the chairman of a particular committee says it is.

In cases where the United States courts have "determined that any provision of any statute of the United States is unconstitutional" the Attorney General shall appeal directly to the U.S. Supreme Court and that Court is instructed as to how it shall act, to wit: It "shall stay the enforcement of any such judgment, decree or order pending a final determination" of an appeal.

Judicial review of Congressional proceedings is prohibited in these words: "No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to consider or decide whether a joint committee or subcommittee of Congress, or of either House thereof, is performing or has performed its duties effectively or satisfactorily, or in conformity with the mandate or will of its parent body, any such determination being the exclusive legislative jurisdiction." This attempts to deprive the Supreme Court of what since its beginning has been held to be its "original jurisdiction" in constitutional matters, not subject to any prescription of Congress.

Some further extraordinary aids are given to Congressional committees. The Fifth Amendment may not be invoked for declining to testify; the committee may grant a witness a limited immunity. Citizens living in foreign lands may be subpoenaed to appear before a committee upon service performed by a U.S. consular officer who may also require him to surrender his passport. His failure to do so would be a crime punishable by a $5,000 fine and/or a year's imprisonment.

The fifth Eastland bill, the "Immigration and Passport Security Act" (S1500) authorizes the State Department to bar foreign travel for reasons of "national interest" or "national security." It takes the issuance or revocation of visas out of the hands of the State Department, and rescinds the present duties of consular officers in connection therewith, transferring them to the Immigration and Naturalization Service "subject to the direction and supervision of the Attorney General."

A sixth Eastland bill, "Foreign Agents Registration Amendments" (S1503), modifies and expands existing registration laws for such agents.

The House bill, now reintroduced, adds a new Title IV—"Defense Facilities and Industrial Security"—to the Internal Security Act of 1950. It relates primarily to workers in defense plants. As Louis Stokes put it in dissenting from the bill, "The interest at stake is employment—but also the right of privacy and to be free from unlimited police surveillance."

Some of the reasons for denying clearance to defense workers are, in the bill's own language: ". . . such a person's present or past membership in, or affiliation or association with any organization, and such other activities or behavior, associations, facts and conditions, past or present, which are relevant to any determination to be made under the provisions of this section."

New York's Rep. Emanuel Celler, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, in denouncing the bill, pointed out that its scope includes railroads, bridges, vessels, aircraft, piers, waterfront installations, and so on, and that it could be invoked to prevent an "uncleared" person from using a highway or crossing a bridge, or from travel by bus, plane or train on the pretext that such facilities are related to defense and security.

It goes even further than the Eastland bills in its attempts to strip the U.S. courts of powers. It would annul a whole series of Supreme Court decisions protecting the rights of persons in their relations with the Subversive Activities Control Board. The bill would bring FBI and other federal investigators swarming onto college campuses to "clear" all persons, whether teachers or students, who might have access to defense facilities maintained at the institutions. Although the bill was amended to exempt nondefense premises of the institutions, the exemption is almost meaningless in view of FBI plans to investigate subversives on campuses as Hoover described them to two Congressional appropriations committees last November. His denials that he has any intention of sending his agents on campuses are nullified by revelations that he has in fact recently been doing so with special intensity, by the common knowledge that such intrusions have been standard FBI procedure over the years, and by his own contradictory statements.

Testifying before the House Appropriations Committee last November 19, Hoover said: "At the present time we have no special agents assigned to college campuses and have had none." The purloined FBI papers, and recent protests by college officials have revealed operations of FBI agents and their informants at Swarthmore and a number of other colleges.

At the same hearing Hoover told how "a peak load of 302 agents" was used to investigate the activities at Ohio's Kent State that led to and produced the Kent massacre. The cost was put by Hoover at $274,000. He was angry at the leak of a summary of an FBI report which was quoted as stating that "there was no reason for the Guard to shoot at Kent state."

"I knew that was untrue," Hoover told the committee. He also said: "I feel that many members of the university and college faculties are far worse than the students who cause the disturbances and ultimately resort to bombing and arson." He explained that he planned to use 400 of the 1,000 new agents "to handle the mounting work being required with other campus violence, aircraft hijacking and New Left and black extremists."

That, in some detail, is the legislation now being readied to deprive Americans of the liberties that every civics textbook tells them is theirs by right of birth. Freedom of the press is still one of those rights, and it becomes the duty of the country's free press to make sure its public knows what lies in store, so that in the not entirely remote future the people cannot complain that they were never warned. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Thinking About the Thinkable

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. *By B. H. Liddell Hart. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 768 pp. $12.50.*

ROBERT WALTERS
Mr. Walters has taught mathematics at the Naval Academy and Bennington College. His forthcoming book, Geopolitics in the West, *is being issued shortly by Penguin in England.*

This last work by the British military writer and strategist, Sir Basil Liddell Hart, was published after his death in January 1970. It is the final chapter in an outpouring of more than thirty books, dealing mainly with military affairs, which began with his own personal experiences in the First World War. Perhaps the strongest reason that induced Liddell Hart to begin writing was the way military men constantly talked about the "lessons of war" but seldom really examined them in an impartial manner. That is what Liddell Hart himself attempted to do—not so much, one gathers, for the purpose of making better soldiers as for the ultimate aim of preventing war.

The basis for his examination of war was his study of history. It is true that even among the modern "cerebral soldiers" this general approach has prevailed, but in their hands it has often led to theoretical inadequacy. Herman Kahn's volume, *On Thermonuclear War,* for example, is more devoted to historical analogy than to scientific analysis. It was Liddell Hart's contention that emotional bias prevented an impartial reading of history, and that this was especially true of writers on military subjects. One little-known but extremely important book of Sir Basil's is *Why Don't We Learn from History?* We learn from history, Liddell Hart finds, that we do not learn from history. And now we have the final lesson in his concluding work.

Liddell Hart's own career cannot be ignored in reading such a book, particularly that portion of it that was bound up in the events of the Second World War. He agreed with Churchill that it was an "unnecessary war" and, also like Churchill, he devoted enormous effort to preventing or anticipating it. And like Maj. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, he had written a great deal in the twenties and thirties in an effort to convince his countrymen of the importance of mechanized warfare. His attempt to convert the British —and the French—met with almost complete failure. However, this was not the case with the Germans, who devoured his ideas; to a certain extent, the Russians assimilated them too. Both nations tried to secure his services as adviser for their respective armies. He turned down the offers, commenting that he found the atmosphere of Whitehall repressive enough.

The Battle of France proved the validity of his thinking. There has perhaps been nothing quite like his intellectual role in all of military history. Here was a man with no official position, working from his study, who yet exercised as great an influence on military affairs as Churchill, Hitler, Stalin or Roosevelt. According to Liddell Hart, "The Battle of France is one of history's most striking examples of the decisive effect of a new idea, carried out by a dynamic executant." Although he does not mention it, almost every detail of the campaign came from his own pen. He had written before the war that, contrary to the general opinion, the Ardennes region was suitable for large-scale military operations—especially an armored thrust. Manstein, who concocted the plan, had been directly influenced by Liddell Hart on this point.

The fall of France in the short space of six weeks stunned the experts, and still possesses tremendous impact. After all, NATO was formed with the essential purpose of preventing a Russian blitzkrieg from sweeping across Western Europe in the same manner in which Hitler's armies had defeated France in 1940. But since Liddell Hart was proved correct, the Establishment, and those who deemed it expedient to curry favor with the powerful, have always resented him. Ironically, his influence was blamed for contributing to the defeat of France —Hanson Baldwin attacked him savagely on this point. His influence was indeed responsible for the defeat, but only because the countries he was especially eager to defend refused to heed his prophecies.

Actually his critics only superficially understood his thinking. He had been military correspondent for *The Times,* and out of step continuously with Dawson's editorial policy. He was against the Munich agreement and, like Namier, realized immediately that the only way to redress the military balance was through an alliance with Russia. Ideology prevented this from happening. In addition, however, Liddell Hart advanced the theory that while the mobility afforded by the internal combustion engine gave a tremendous initial advantage to the attack, nevertheless if both sides had the modern weapons and reasonable skill, then the defense would be far stronger in the end. After Munich, Liddell Hart particularly emphasized this point. But it has never really been accepted nor even understood to this day.

Liddell Hart's "Lesson One," demonstrated by the blitzkrieg, has been accepted. However, the defeat suffered in the Battle of France was not due to the deficiency of men or equipment on the side of the Allies. "Far from having the overwhelming superiority with which they were credited, Hitler's armies were actually inferior in numbers to those opposing them. Although his tank drives proved decisive, he had fewer and less powerful tanks than his opponents possessed. Only in air power, the most vital factor, had he a superiority." This important point has been glossed over—even by his admirers. In John F. Kennedy's book, *Why England Slept,* the chief reason for the fall of France was deduced to be the difference between what Britain and Germany spent on armaments in the prewar period. This was a factor, but, as A. J. P. Taylor noted, had the British military been given more funds, undoubtedly they would have spent it on the wrong things.

Kennedy also quoted, or rather misquoted, Liddell Hart on the flyleaf of the book in an epigraph that was evidently supposed to provide the keynote of the volume. The quotation reads: "I do not criticize persons, but only a state of affairs. It is they, however, who will have to answer for defensiveness at the bar of history." This is attributed to one "Liddel-Hart, 1933." The word "defensiveness" should have been "deficiencies" and, of course, in view of Liddell Hart's thinking concerning the relationship between the attack and the defense, it was a monumental error. Since the epigraph appeared in this form both in the 1940 and 1961 editions, it is apparent that Kennedy never fully understood the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Liddell Hart theory. But then Kennedy was not alone.

Indeed, the war vindicated both parts of Liddell Hart's thinking. Commenting in this book on the first phases of the North African campaign in June 1941, Liddell Hart observes: "From this time onwards, as the war continued and experience grew, it became increasingly evident that defence, in a more mobile form, had regained the advantage it held in World War I, and could only be overcome by a great superiority of strength or a very high degree of skill—in upsetting the opponent's balance." The course of the war repeatedly gave evidence of the truth of Liddell Hart's "Lesson Two." This was especially so in Russia, of which he wrote: "These repeated successes of the defence against numerical odds at over 6 to 1 were a remarkable achievement." The important role of the defense had been stressed in his earlier books, notably *The German Generals Talk* and *Deterrent or Defense.*

The importance of "Lesson Two" is obvious. If this idea had been understood and accepted, the West could not have developed its obsession with nuclear arms. However, in the nature of the case, there could never be such a dramatic illustration of the validity of "Lesson Two" as there had been with "Lesson One," demonstrated by the blitzkrieg.

In 1960, after John F. Kennedy reviewed *Deterrent or Defense* in the *Saturday Review*, some notice of "Lesson Two" was taken by the academic strategists. Henry Kissinger, for example, completely reversed his thinking regarding the need for tactical nuclear arms in Europe, and observed that World War II had proved the validity of the thesis that the defense was stronger than the attack by a ratio of 3 to 1. Herman Kahn, in his Afterword to the Avon edition of *Thinking About the Unthinkable* (1966), gave notice of this revised viewpoint. Unfortunately, a scant 3 pages later he completely reversed his thinking. Having observed that, "A once common view—that it would be impossible for NATO to match 'Russian hordes' without the use of nuclear weapons—seems wrong and no longer goes unquestioned," and after discussing the merits of a no-first-use declaration, he goes on to say, "Before we could do this there would have to be additions to NATO's conventional capability. . . ." Moreover, last December, *Time* printed an article concerning NATO entitled "Europe: Of Defense and Detente," which included the following observation: "The result is a thick document called A.D. 70 (for Alliance Defense, 1970). It concluded that NATO possesses 'adequate nuclear forces,' but that its conventional strength 'is less satisfactory' —quite an understatement in view of the Warsaw Pact's 2-to-1 edge in troop strength." There is no evidence of "Lesson Two" here, quite aside from the shaky statistical basis for the comparative estimate of forces.

Elsewhere in the volume Liddell Hart brings out an interesting point about the curious reasoning Hitler used in justifying his attack on Russia. After Dunkirk there was no possible way for Britain alone to defeat the Germans. "By refusing to consider any peace offer the British Government had committed the country to a course that under such conditions was bound, logically, to lead through growing exhaustion to eventual collapse—even if Hitler abstained from attempting its quick conquest by invasion." If Germany were to attempt to settle accounts with Britain by force, then it would have to build up its navy and air force at the expense of the army. And in this event it would be exposed to the menace on its Eastern borders of Stalin's Red Army. Hitler reasoned that Stalin must be flirting with the British to keep them in the war. But in this analysis he was wrong since ". . . the British people took little account of the hard facts of their situation. They were instinctively stubborn and strategically ignorant." In the end an alliance was forced between Britain and Russia by the necessity of war—a course which the Russians had been trying desperately to pursue since the rise of Hitler.

In this book, most of Liddell Hart's attention is centered upon the European war—which is justifiable since Germany was undoubtedly the dominant member of the Axis. Nonetheless, the volume does seem biased in devoting so much space to the North African campaign. Interestingly enough, as Liddell Hart noted, the Far East had been given top priority, next to Britain itself, in the prewar defense estimate; Singapore was duly built up as a great naval base. But when the chips were down Churchill overruled this strategy and the Middle East was given chief consideration. The main fleet was never sent to Singapore and Britain's Far Eastern defenses fell like a house of cards. Singapore, as Vice Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond said, was like a sentry box without the sentry.

Throughout his career Liddell Hart was subjected to a barrage of vilification and hostility. He defended his ideas but refused to engage in name-calling. At times his views were mildly left-wing, as when he supported the Spanish Republicans, which meant that he was automatically out of favor with the Establishment. But he managed in the end to tower above his critics. The superiority of his mode of thinking to that of contemporary academic strategists is obvious. The Israeli military leaders were constantly consulting with Liddell Hart over the past decades, and there has never been any evidence that they valued in the same way the advice of the cerebral soldiers. On the other hand, General Westmoreland, a chief employer of the academic theorists, appears to have established his reputation as an architect of defeats.

There is no question but that Liddell Hart's name will rank with that of Clausewitz. Indeed, in many respects his theory, being more general, is superior to that of his great predecessor. And like so many classic writers, he will be often quoted but seldom understood. This final book stands as a fitting monument to the reputation which he built in his lifetime. □

Revolt in the North

WHITE NIGGERS OF AMERICA: The Precocious Autobiography of a Quebec "Terrorist." *By Pierre Vallières. Translated by Joan Pinkham. Monthly Review Press. 288 pp. $7.50.*

VLADIMIR DEDIJER

Mr. Dedijer, a Yugoslav historian, is at present lecturing at Brandeis. His latest book is The Battle Stalin Lost *(Viking).*

Few books in my lifetime have had such an effect upon me as this one of Pierre Vallières. The author is one of the leaders of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ), a clandestine revolutionary movement whose twofold goal is self-determination for Quebec and the creation of a Socialist society.

One can argue about the effectiveness of Vallières' revolutionary tactics, but for me the most impressive aspect of his book is its political lucidity and sincerity in an age when the established ideologies of East and West alike can no longer lay claim to such qualities. I interrupted my reading of Vallières one evening by watching a television broadcast showing Leonid Brezhnev at the Twenty-Fourth Party Congress in Moscow, and, some

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minutes later, one of Richard Nixon. It was spiritually refreshing to return to a book that records a life lived in keeping with deeply held principles, the life of a man whose words and deeds show no discrepancy.

Vallières' memoirs illustrate a basic problem of the New Left all around the world: how can a rebel protect himself from the defenders of "law and order" on the one hand, and also escape being manipulated by stale revolutionary theories and the mighty organizations and states which stand behind them? This book is a poem about the effort required to preserve one's own integrity, particularly when one is born a "White Nigger of America," one of the pauperized French workers of Quebec. Vallières describes vividly the "cunningly organized dehumanization of the Roman Catholic Church which preaches the gospel of resignation and apologies for slavery and all kinds of collective masochism to the poor of Quebec."

Vallières' most moving pages deal with the tragic dilemmas that arose within his own family as a result of this indoctrination. The author's mother was effectively frightened into docility by her conviction that any opposition would bring down further calamities on her family. She was not a supporter of the social system that was responsible for her bitterly hard life, but she thought that subservience was the only policy that would make it possible to carry on. Vallières' father, on the other hand, was a rebel who at one time had dreamed that social struggle could overcome social injustice. He failed in his efforts, but his son has carried on the fight, resolved in spite of poverty to be "proud and tenacious." His mother told him again and again that one had to learn to be content with one's lot, that half a loaf is better than no bread. It is not strange that Vallières dedicated his book to the memory of his father.

Vallières' main conclusion about the problem posed by the centuries-long history of brainwashing suffered by the poor of Quebec is that man should not submit to history but attempt to shape it himself. But the difficulty of putting such a program into practice is revealed by the events of his own life: to begin with, he did not have the means that would permit him to acquire the formal education that would help arm him for political struggle. Nevertheless, simply by virtue of his talents and intelligence, he managed in a short time to make a place for himself in the intellectual life of Quebec. Then he was faced with the kiss of death, the privileges and status that the leaders of the established society are in a position to confer upon young rebels, and in that way buy them over. Pierre Trudeau, at that time a kind of dissenter, put Vallières in charge of the magazine *Cité Libre*. But Vallières did not fall into the possible trap. He gave forceful expression to his anti-clerical and separatist opinions—and that was the end of the short-lived honeymoon with Pierre Trudeau.

While Vallières almost by instinct had refused to lend himself to furthering the interests of the liberal bourgeoisie, he is not yet clear in his mind about the exact role of Pierre Trudeau among the Quebec radicals of the period. He asks in amazement: "Who could have guessed, in 1963, that once in Ottawa, Trudeau would become the number-one enemy of the French Canadians?" But the study of history teaches a great deal about the methods employed by the established order to bring about the destruction of the rebels. For example, in England, that cradle of the system of co-optation, many a young conservative has gone willingly among the "lesser breeds," to study their programs and methods, and thereafter used the knowledge thus acquired to effectively oppose the cause of the underdog. I would hazard the guess that Pierre Trudeau is simply applying this old weapon against his former comrades in arms.

Having saved himself from co-optation by his own establishment, Vallières did not fall into the mistake of many an honest rebel—supposing that my enemy's enemy is my friend. He is critical of "the unfortunate evolution of the Soviet Union," and does not think that "one should consider Stalin alone responsible for it." For him the Soviet Union is simply no longer a country that breeds useful revolutionary theories or attitudes. And being aware, unlike many in the American New Left, of the other side of co-optation, the manipulation of the revolutionary intentions of militants for the benefit of other powerful states or organizations, he is also aware of the necessity of building a revolutionary movement and an adequate revolutionary ideology. Here, I think, is Vallières' chief contribution to solving the dilemma of the young rebels of America.

Whether he has chosen the right form of organization and the right ideology, history will show. But I admire his integrity and the human qualities of his book. That book is at my bedside, and deep in the night, when the troubled man emerges hesitantly like a snail coming out of his shell, I go over the pages of Vallières' memoirs and ask myself, have I done my duty today to the causes I believe in? □

"Powerful... fixes the present system of military justice in its historical context."
—*Washington Post*

"Should be read by everyone concerned with the integrity of our military services."—*Business Week*

"Thought-provoking . . . The generous use of actual courts-martial testimony is effective."—*Publishers' Weekly*

"Fresh and matter-of-fact, free of sham heroics and self-righteousness."
—*Library Journal*

CONSCIENCE AND COMMAND
Justice and Discipline in the Military
by JAMES FINN
$8.95; Vintage paperbound $1.95
Now at your bookstore • RANDOM HOUSE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Selling of a Feminist

THE FEMALE EUNUCH. *By Germaine Greer. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 349 pp. $6.95.*

CLAUDIA DREIFUS

Miss Dreifus is a free-lance writer working in New York, whose articles on political and social questions have appeared in The Realist, Rolling Stone, Evergreen *and elsewhere. Her book on feminism and women's rights,* The Feminine Experience, *will be published by Lancer in December.*

Early last year, when the high priests of publishing began to discover that their female readers were insatiably curious about the women's liberation idea, there was much discussion as to which of the bountiful crop of feminist authors would become the big femme lib superstar. Betty Friedan had no appeal for the literary lions—she was too old, too bourgeoise, too organization-conscious. Shulamith Firestone, the author of *The Dialectic of Sex* and organizer of New York Radical Feminists, was strikingly attractive; but alas, anti-love, perhaps even anti-men. Ti-Grace Atkinson, an advocate of extra-uterine birth, was considered too far out for a whirl through the major networks. For a while it seemed as if the brilliant and beautiful Kate Millett, whose *Sexual Politics* was for a short time on the best-seller list, might be star material. But she made the mistake of openly asserting her bisexuality. *Time* took due note of this state of affairs, and that finished Millett. So who was left to launch on the Dick Cavett-Johnny Carson-Virginia Graham-*Time-Life* circuit? American feminists, with their dogged determination to be themselves, were a publicity man's nightmare. Someone more palatable would have to be found.

Or even imported. On a warm spring day, Germaine Greer, the author of the English best-seller, *The Female Eunuch*, jetted into New York from London. Miss Greer was everything those messy American feminists were not: pretty, predictable, aggressively heterosexual, mediawise, clever, foreign and exotic. Her background was fascinating. At 32, she was an accomplished actress, a Ph.D. who lectured in Shakespeare at Warwick University, editor of the European pornographic journal, *Suck*, and contributor to various London underground newspapers. Her philosophy, as outlined in *The Female Eunuch*, could be expected to appeal to men: women's liberation means that women will be sexually liberated; feminism equals free love. Here was a libbie a man could like.

Full-page ads announced that Miss Greer had written the women's liberation book of the year, and that despite this achievement, she was "a feminist leader who admittedly loves men." Six feet tall, fashion-model beautiful, Miss Greer was the toast of *The Tonight Show*. Dick Cavett was enthusiastic about her. Norman Mailer suggested that her book was worth reading.

There is a catch to this fairy tale. Germaine Greer is not the feminist leader she is advertised to be. Back home in London she has no active connections with any women's liberation group. And the book she has written is hardly feminist. True, *The Female Eunuch* does contain an obligatory enumeration of the many economic and psychological horrors that women are subjected to. But Miss Greer's information is hardly new, and could be gleaned from a half-dozen other books. What's more, the whole tone of *The Female Eunuch* is shallow, anti-woman, regressive, three steps backward to the world of false sexual liberation from which so many young women have fled.

Miss Greer quite rightly asks women to abandon the institution of marriage, but she means to replace it simply with the dehumanizing, anonymous, and spiritually debilitating thrusting that men call sex. In her view, sex is something to be collected—like money. The more of it you get, the richer you are. The difficulty is that many feminists have been to that movie before. Many of the younger women in the movement recall a period, four or five years ago, when in order to qualify as hip, emancipated females, their alternate-culture brothers insisted they perform as sexual gymnasts. Resentment at this treatment is one powerful motive for the current women's movement.

The author's insistence that "sexual liberation" is the prerequisite for women's liberation has a lot to do with the fact that she thinks like a man. She has done very well in the male world, and she has yet to identify herself with the essential condition of women. From her book, one learns that Germaine Greer has rarely (except during a miserable youth) had to suffer the kinds of misfortune that most women endure. She was always accepted in the world of men. She was always treated as an equal. That good fortune just about disqualifies her for writing a feminist book. She has had no experience of what it means to be adult and female in the world inhabited by most women, and she does not have the gift of imagination that could make up for that lack. Indeed, she consistently takes a viewpoint that is not merely male but inimical to women. Her book is littered with unkind and unfeminist snipes at her sisters. Most of the women in her book are described as whiny, simpy and boring. "As a female lecturer at a provincial university," she complains in a typical passage, "I have to tolerate the antics of faculty wives, but they are strikingly easy to ignore." What separates Germaine Greer from women's liberationists is that a sensitive feminist would regard a faculty wife's failings as the end product of a useless, oppressive and unfulfilling life. A feminist would feel sisterly sympathy for the faculty wife, and be interested in working with her to help change her condition.

Aside from the author's obvious misogyny, she exhibits very little respect for those women who are organizing against sexual oppression. Her chapters on "Rebellion" and "Revolution" are packed with contradictory ranting about how the women's revolution must be part of The Bigger Revolution, how the feminist movement is not militant enough, how the movement is too middle class. On the one hand, she exhorts the women's liberationists to be more militant in their fight against sexism. On the other, she suggests that women make love, not war. "Women cannot be liberated from their impotence by the gun. . . . The process has to be the opposite: women must humanize the penis, take the steel out of it and make it flesh again."

If Miss Greer has no patience with the state of the feminist movement, she has even less love for the literary women who have aligned themselves with it. Betty Friedan is described as middle class and boring. Kate Millett "persists in assuming that [Norman] Mailer is a cretin." Anne Koedt, author of the important Women's Liberation pamphlet, "The Myth of Vaginal Orgasm," is dismissed this way: "One wonders just whom Miss Koedt has gone to bed with."

On the whole, *The Female Eunuch* is a grossly inconsistent book. Yes, Germaine Greer says all the right things about the economics of sexism. Yes, she is extraordinarily observant about some of the physiological results of our sexual conventions. Her chapters on female anatomy are brilliant. Where she falls down is in her inveterate dislike of women, her idiotic exhortations to revolution and nonviolence alike, and her passionate identification with all things male.

Throughout history there have always

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been a few women who have been able to fight and seduce their way to the top of the patriarchy. In pre-revolutionary France, these women were highly educated, highly cultivated courtesans who provided intellectual and sexual stimulation for the male nobility. (What self-respecting noble would try to carry on an intelligent discussion with his wife?) Germaine Greer is the closest thing we have to this old-world, old-style courtesan. Nor would she be offended by this description. By her own admission, she is a groupie, a supergroupie—which means that she is a sexual and intellectual consort to the royalty of rock music. On television programs she has made comments like: "I'm really just an intellectual superwhore!"

The Female Eunuch is designed to provide intellectual and sexual thrills to those men who would like to see a feminist revolution because it would take that *one* woman off their back and make a lot more women available to them. How nice to be told that women's liberation will mean the liberation of more women for bed service! One reading of *The Female Eunuch* suggested to me that it had been written to assuage the fears of jittery male chauvinists. A second reading convinced me that if Germaine Greer didn't exist, Norman Mailer would have had to invent her. □

The New China

THE RISE OF MODERN CHINA. *By Immanuel C. Y. Hsü. Oxford University Press. 830 pp. $14.50.*

NORMAN J. GALLO
Mr. Gallo has lived in the Far East for three years. He is currently writing a novel about the Far East.

The dam has burst. All at once, signs of a *rapprochement* between the United States and Communist China have come tumbling forth. Perhaps to those familiar with Chinese history, the sudden invitation to visit extended to the U.S. table tennis team need not have come as a complete surprise.

In 1882 Chinese officials opened up Korea to the United States as a counterbalance to Japanese encroachment in that area. Some fourteen years later, China signed a secret agreement with Russia as a further counterbalance to Japanese power and influence. Thus the playing of one "barbarian" against another is not a new development in Chinese foreign relations. It does not take much imagination to perceive that the country that worries the People's Republic of China the most is its powerful neighbor to the north, the Soviet Union.

Behind the startling new contacts with the United States can be seen the hand of Chou En-lai. That brilliant strategist has probably convinced the leadership of China that the right moment for realignment has arrived. Many developments have led up to this juncture, and not the least of these is the emergence of China as a nuclear power with the armaments that permit it to deal as an equal with the other nuclear states. And, of course, one of the pressures contributing to China's sudden shift in diplomatic strategy must certainly be the presence of a large Soviet military force on its northern borders.

As Professor Hsü points out in his comprehensive account of the development of modern China, serious Chinese concern with the Russian presence to the north is not unprecedented. Approximately a century ago, the ruling authorities of the Ch'ing dynasty were divided over whether the greater threat was a rebellion in Sinkiang, which was encouraging Russian penetration, or Japanese intrusion into Formosa and the exposure of China's eastern coast to further incursions. It is interesting to learn that the Ch'ing officials decided that the revolt in Sinkiang was the more immediate danger; it was that problem that received first priority in being resolved.

One of the absorbing aspects of Hsü's well-documented book is its analysis of how the history of modern China was influenced by a continuous pincers movement of Russian power from the north and Western maritime power from the south. What made the political developments in this period especially complex is that the double pressure arose at about the same time that the Ming dynasty fell in 1643 and the alien Ch'ing dynasty was founded by the Manchus, a tribe from Manchuria. In order to maintain and stabilize their rule, the Manchus kept the Ming governmental and social institutions, and absorbed the Chinese into their bureaucracy to work alongside them "in a sort of dyarchy." After the mid-19th century, when the Ch'ing dynasty began to decay and the European countries to penetrate deeper into China, "many foreigners were appointed to government services, thereby enlarging the Manchu-Chinese dyarchy into a Manchu-Chinese-Western synarchy." With the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1912, the overriding obsession of the Chinese became the desire to rid China of the foreign presence. This obsession has continued unremittingly to the present day.

The synthesis of Chinese and Western forces that created modern China has presented the world with a unique, unprecedented power. No one can predict what the effect upon the global community will be. The profound changes that have taken place in China have not amounted to an adaptation of Western forms and ideas but rather to a Sinicizing of them, an assimilation and transformation. The Chinese felt they had been defeated, not by a superior civilization but by a superior technology. Now that they possess that technology, the history of the coming decades will be as interesting as it will be different. □

Before the Colonels

THE MARKED MEN. *By Aris Fakinos. Translated by Jacqueline Lapidus. Liveright. 248 pp. $6.95.*

STEPHEN ROUSSEAS
Mr. Rousseas is professor of economics at Vassar College, and author of The Death of a Democracy: Greece and the American Conscience *(Grove Press).*

Aris Fakinos is a Greek writer living in exile in Paris with his American wife. In collaboration with other political exiles in Paris, he has been a principal editor of the weekly *Athènes-Presse Libre*, one of the best documentary sources for events in Greece under the military junta, and he has co-edited *Le Livre noir de la dictature en Grèce* published in 1969 by Combats/Seuil.

Before the coup of April 21, 1967, Fakinos was a reporter for the Cretan newspaper, *Allaghi* (Change). In 1966 he wrote a critical account of the brutal tactics of the gendarmerie during the agricultural riots in Crete. He was promptly brought to trial and convicted of "insulting the State." One year later in March of 1967, and one month before the colonels' coup, two Greek army lieutenants tipped him off about the preparations then going on for a generals' coup. The story was published in *Allaghi*. Fakinos and his publisher, Manolis Karelis, were immediately brought up on charges. In the course of their trial, the generals' plot was verified and Fakinos and Karelis were acquitted. The case then took a bizarre twist. The interim government of Kanellopoulos argued

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that since the charges were proven to be true, Fakinos and his publisher were obligated to disclose the names of their informants. When they refused, they were accused of being spies.

Before the trial could take place, the colonels had sprung their own coup. Fakinos immediately took off for Athens. Two weeks later the Athens airport was reopened and, in the general confusion when the colonels were hunting for bigger game in Athens and the local gendarmerie were searching for Fakinos in Crete, he boarded a commercial flight to Rome. The publisher, Karelis, was subsequently jailed for "spying." On his release from prison nine months later, he slipped out of Greece "illegally," and he is now living his life of exile in Canada.

When he left Greece, Fakinos took along the manuscript of a half-finished novel which he completed in Paris. It was published in France in 1969 under the title, *Les Derniers barbares*. Its more accurate English title is *The Marked Men*. It is the story of a village in the north of Greece close to the Yugoslav border. The village of Doliani is the story of Greece—its foreign occupations, its successive enslavements, its almost permanent and futile struggle for freedom, and its ultimate destruction in civil war. Still, the Greek passion for liberty cannot be extinguished. It lives on in defeat and in exile. But to the modern Greek, exile, or *exoria*, does not mean living involuntarily in a foreign land; it means banishment to one of the several barren islands of Greece where political prisoners are held under wretched conditions. Under the colonels the islands of *exoria* are full once again, and Fakinos' books ends, appropriately, with one of its principal characters defiantly boarding a boat in Piraeus, after a police massacre, for the short trip to *exoria*. Much of modern Greek history is a constant shuffling back and forth from these islands, always with a Western power lurking in the background in support of its collaborators—England after the Turks, followed by the Italians and the Germans in World War II, then England again for a short while immediately after the war and, since the declaration of the Truman Doctrine in 1947, the United States.

The Marked Men takes place during the Greek civil war of 1946-49. A small patrol of seven soldiers is cut off from the main body of troops during a skirmish with the partisans. They stumble wounded and exhausted into the village of Doliani and are captured by the village priest, Father Notis. The patrol is caught in a dilemma. They will either be hunted down as deserters by the army or wiped out in time by the partisans. Father Notis offers them a way out. If the patrol will agree to defend the village from the ravages of both sides, he will lead them to two gunnery nests strategically placed outside the village and arm them with grenades, a Vickers machine gun, two Bren guns, three Italian carbines and two cases of ammunition—all of which he had accumulated from the Resistance during the German occupation and had hidden behind his altar. The patrol agrees.

The rest of the novel unfolds with tragic inevitability. The right-wing commander of the army corps, Major Tzelekis, is furious with his intelligence officer for having sent out the patrol with Dimitris Mandas as its leader, knowing full well that Dimitris' father had been a member of the Resistance during the Nazi occupation. Major Tzelekis is convinced that the patrol has defected to the partisans and he sends out a squad of cutthroats to hunt it down. The squad is ambushed by the patrol in Doliani and annihilated with the help of Father Notis and his contraband weapons. There is now no way out for the patrol. When the squad does not return, the major, contrary to orders, moves out in force on Doliani. At this point a band of partisans enters the village; a fight with the outlaw patrol is imminent, but Father Notis convinces both sides to join forces against the army. Thereafter a battle takes place with Major Tzelekis' troops, and the patrol and partisans are forced to retreat toward the Yugoslav border—leaving Father Notis in the village to fight a one-man, rear-guard delaying action, for the entire village flees en masse with the patrol and the partisans for the sanctuary of Yugoslavia. The village is burned to the ground, Dimitris is captured and the book ends with his leaving for *exoria* from the docks of Piraeus.

This is the barest outline of the main plot. Fakinos uses the story of Doliani to sketch in the ugly and tragic history of his country. Sensitively written, it is by no means a joyous book, but then neither is the history of Greece a joyous one. And Fakinos' narrative is based on a real story. In 1957 the author served as a second lieutenant in the Greek army in the area where the real Doliani once existed. Its true name was Doirani. Although there is a village of the same name nearby, the original one is now empty and in ruins. Fakinos heard the story of Doirani from the peasants of the region. Father Notis was a real person who was killed by the army during the civil war. Most of the other characters of the novel are composite figures, and the arch villain, Major Tzelekis, was modeled after the military commander of Crete, Apostolos Tzouvelekis. Major Tzelekis is an accurate characterization of the fanatical right-wing type that has always dominated the Greek army and now, with the assistance of the United States, controls the whole of Greece.

In this novel Aris Fakinos emerges, along with Vassilis Vassilikos, the author of *Z*, as a significant Greek writer. He has to his credit a first novel, *I Cried Out*, which was published in Greece in 1964. At present he is writing a novel concerned with how Greece was manipulated and prepared for dictatorship. It takes place during the critical years of the constitutional crisis (1965-67), during which the young King Constantine dismissed the Center Union government of George Papandreou; it ends on the day the dictatorship is established in Greece. *The Marked Men* was translated from the Greek by Jacqueline Lapidus, who has succeeded in capturing the colloquial flavor of the original. □

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

Actors' voices can make tricky problems in the international movie world. The film version of Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was directed by the Swedish Casper Wrede, with Tom Courtenay in the title role and a largely British cast supporting him. The men speak in a wide variety of accents, from Courtenay's rather flat, northern tones to BBC and university English; some have distinctly foreign accents. All this is entirely consistent with the fact that the political prisoners swept into that far-northern camp were from all ranks of Russian society and some from areas of the USSR where Russian is not the native tongue. If British English were my own speech, I should probably pass over the matter without comment, but it is not, and never for a moment could I forget that I was dealing with Englishmen under duress. When one worker grumbles to another about the aesthetic interests of a pair of "Muscovites," it seemed to me that I was listening to the professional chatter of a pair of contributors to the *New Statesman*.

The effect is accentuated by some of the dramatic dialogue supplied by Ronald Harwood; it is in a slightly weary, old-school style of understatement that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

does not immediately suggest Siberia. As a result, I kept expecting to meet the RAF type who had been chosen leader of the tunnel being dug under the very noses of the obtuse Nazi guards. We were quite thoroughly exposed to that school of melodramatics in the years after World War II, so the expectation was natural enough, but the effect was to estrange the film from the book.

And the process was carried further by Courtenay's portrayal. As I remember him, Ivan Denisovich was a pragmatic-minded, skilled workman who had learned every technique for turning the conditions of bare survival in the camp to his advantage, and who even under those conditions took a good craftsman's satisfaction in workmanship. It never surprised me that the authorities have permitted this single Solzhenitsyn novel to circulate in Russia—Denisovich is a kind of prison-camp Robinson Crusoe; he makes a spirited game of survival, and the wickedness of the situation is considerably offset by the enterprise with which he confronts it.

Some of that survives in the picture, but, in another international ambiguity, Denisovich seems to have taken on some of the morose introversions of an Ingmar Bergman hero, particularly one of those played by Max von Sydow, whom Courtenay somewhat resembles. He now goes in for a display of repressed suffering that contrasts oddly with the moments of brisk invention retained from the original portrait and that seems to me more a Swede's notion of how Ivan ought to react to his miseries than Solzhenitsyn's account of what he actually did. He also has an odd way of shifting his intellectual horizons, at one moment talking like a country bumpkin about basic natural phenomena and at the next arguing theology with a pious bunkmate in the slightly impatient tones of a college don.

Where the film excels is in its visual texture, which is as remarkable as Bergman's—and for the reason, I have no doubt, that Sven Nykvist, Bergman's cameraman, was in charge. The barrack interiors, the deeply carved faces, the dawn light on flat snowfields are captivating. But that this too is a hazard becomes clear when the film begins to exploit the compositional geometry of the long lines of marching men cutting chords across the plane of their terrible isolation. And the flaring white fleece coats of the Red guards are less Russian than Ballet Russe.

The Stalinist prison authorities adapted the Soviet factory quota system to their camps, dividing the men into teams, giving each job a mathematical value and "paying" the men according to their rate of performance. This was a good, tyrannical trick, since it forced the prisoners to drive themselves, but it also produced an *esprit de corps* that countered the numbing despair of prison existence. As a result, *One Day*, given its theme that there were to be 3,600 and more such days in Ivan's term, was a curiously unharrowing book. And the film, given its British doggedness and rough good health (everyone gobbles the unappetizing mush and slops, but no one looks ill-nourished), is not harrowing at all. It is an exceedingly handsome picture, but I would suppose rather too good to be true. □

DANCE

NANCY GOLDNER

John Cranko and his Stuttgart Ballet are riding the crest of a wave. They've just completed a successful six-week engagement, which ended May 29, at the Metropolitan Opera House and will return there in July after a transcontinental tour. In Stuttgart, things are going well too. They have a subsidy from the government generous enough to enable them to think about ballet rather than money. And significantly, they are no longer an opera ballet; they are the Stuttgart Ballet.

Cranko can state quite matter-of-factly that he doesn't have to think about cash, but artistically the troupe is still getting by, by the skin of its teeth. The Stuttgart has several dancers and ballets worth seeing, but if you don't pick your programs carefully you'll see a second-rate company. First, you must see only the full-length ballets, not for their choreography but for their wonderful sense. Cranko's forte as a choreographer is his ability to elucidate character transformation in a dance style that is neither pure (he is no Martha Graham) nor strictly mimetic, but that does satisfy one's visual and dramatic imagination. The protagonists really do change before one's eyes, and that makes up for the fact that the ensemble has practically nothing to do and that the subcharacters are given harmless but dull dances.

Fortunately, the characters do develop through dance, specifically the *pas de deux*. In *Taming of the Shrew* the duets are the Kate-Petruchio battles that gradually evolve into the final love dance. In *Romeo and Juliet* they chronicle the lovers' growing awareness of their commitment to each other and their coming of age, when decisions must be made. *Eugene Onegin* boils down to two duets, in which girlish Tatiana expresses adoration for Onegin and then rejects him in the last scene. One of Cranko's most successful devices for marking character change is to have the dancers repeat specific dance phrases throughout the ballet with slight variations in dynamics and emotional intonation. Tatiana, for example, at first falls into Onegin's arms; later, he pulls her into his embrace, but the step is the same. In the ballroom, Juliet leans against Romeo in a slight dip. In the balcony scene he dips her to the floor. In the bedroom, those dips and swoons are just as extreme but faster, indicating the pressing of time and emotional stress. They serve a dramatic function. Revealingly, however, when Cranko has not thought out the dramatic line of his characters, as in his new *Carmen*, the duets are purposeless. Without a literary logic, Don José and Carmen are engaged in little more than acrobatic stunts. Ultimately, they expose Cranko's paucity of choreographic ideas in the very construction he can best exploit.

Given Cranko's troubles when devising choreography that is not in a dramatic context, the Stuttgart Ballet must depend on its opera ballets. With the exception of moments here and there, the short ballets are poor. The most ambitious and rewarding of them is *Brouillards*, to preludes of Debussy. That Debussy writes in an impressionistic style is

BOOK COLLECTORS!
Our globe girdling agents add gems to your collection.
All fields A to Izzard.
BOOK LANDY
1615 Montana Avenue
Santa Monica, Calif. 90403

THE NATION'S BEST PUZZLES
Book 3—$2.00
All 3 books—$4.00
Frank W. Lewis
c/o 15 Lakeside Drive
Greenbelt, Md. 20770

'THE PRESS AND THE BAY OF PIGS'
A detailed study by
Victor Bernstein and Jesse Gordon
The role played by **The Nation** in breaking the Bay of Pigs story to the American public, reprinted from the **Columbia University Forum.**
Single copies—15c; 25 copies at 10c each
Orders over 25 at 7c per copy
THE NATION
333 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10014

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not important here, but that he treats nonmusical subjects in a thoroughly nonliteral—that is, musical—way is. His giving titles to each of his preludes is a charming touch, but it is only a touch. Cranko, however, prefers to create narrative rather than musical images, and so he harkened to Debussy's titles more than his music.

But even with that basic mistake, *Brouillards* does contain the most honest choreography: the footwork escapes fussiness, the duets are not so dependent on fancy lifts (as they are in all the long ballets), and the general tone is not so aggressively pointed, whether in the direction of virtuosity, humor or lyricism *cum schmaltz*. "Footprints in the snow" depicts with delicacy and gentle sadness the love triangle between two men and a woman. Egon Madsen, the company's most versatile male dancer, is given an airy and fluid solo, impressive for itself and also for the fact that the story—he tries to impress a lady who, alas, only wants to sleep—is not allowed to intrude upon the dancing. But then there are episodes in which dancers snap fingers and arch their backs to Debussy's faint and ironical flirtation with Spanish music; in which the dancers pretend they are wind-swept for no discernible reason except that the prelude is called "Sails"; or in which camp music-hall humor takes over because the title is "Hommage à S. Pickwick, Esq." or "General Lavine—eccentric."

Oddly, when Cranko faces music that is actually funny he becomes either precious or deadly serious. And again, the choreography is squeezed through the serious or the humorous cookie-cutter. In either case, it is calculated—often to the musically inappropriate end—and it never comes to life of itself. *Ebony Concerto*, *Salade* and most of *Jeu de Cartes* are cutesy-pie, pouty and self-consciously gauche. *Ebony Concerto*, to Stravinsky, gets stuck in the thump-thump groove that the composer half seriously and half mockingly calls jazz. In *Jeu de Cartes* Cranko is obsessive about other jokes, but as in *Ebony Concerto*, he cannot pass the blame to Stravinsky. We are not watching dancing, but rather the Queen of Hearts being snubbed by the joker and other escorts until she stamps her foot petulantly. Finally Cranko drops his fey attitude and sends the joker (Madsen) up in a robust spoof of the ballerina. It is hilarious and Madsen is a great clown—but when will the "story" stop? And when will Cranko stop being cute? Not in *Salade*, with its froufrou embellishments under which there is nothing. He stops in *The Catalyst*, set to Shostakovich's sly and sometimes crazy free-for-all, the "Concerto in C for piano, trumpet and orchestra." The ballet is pompous, academic and pedantic. With its idiosyncratic arm movements—one limp wrist folded over the other—and forced use of flexed feet and turned-in legs, *The Catalyst* is uncomfortably transparent in its determination to be original and modern. The dance phrases themselves, however, are straight out of the classroom and are even executed with the student's concentration to do it correctly. Meanwhile, Shostakovich is running merrily all over the keyboard and blowing the trumpet like an eager boy scout in a high school band. The discrepancy between Cranko's high-mindedness and Shostakovich's high jinks is absolutely staggering.

With the Stuttgart's emphasis on the full-length ballets, it is relatively difficult to appraise the dancers. The corps has little to do except in *The Seasons*, while in the big ballets the "second couple" is given such trivial dances that even the finest people would not be seen advantageously. The general impression is that the company must ride on a few dancers, as it must on a few ballets. Marcia Haydée is the troupe's dramatic ballerina. It is odd that she is also considered the prima ballerina, which suggests a classical dancer. That she is not, as her performance in Cranko's classical-virtuoso *The Seasons* indicates. But her portrayals of Carmen, Juliet, Kate and Tatiana are so beautifully detailed and different from one another that she probably is one of the most potent theatrical personalities on the dance stage. This is also true of Egon Madsen, and he is a fine classical dancer as well. Richard Cragun is the dazzler. On an "up" night, such as when he appeared in *The Catalyst* and *Black Swan pas de deux*, he is one of the few men who can execute the entire canon of male technique with complete ease. Birgit Keil is actually the troupe's classical dancer and, not surprisingly, is miscast in comic roles. Joyce Cuoco, a younger member, might develop into a great dancer if all goes well. Already her technique is fabulous, as big as the Ritz, and luckily she has emerged scarless from her Radio City Music Hall days, where her extraordinary gifts were disfigured in freakish display. But the rest of the women are ingénues and the men are simply incompetent when they are not cast in quasi-acting parts.

A repertory whose meat and potatoes is the operatic ballet is practical only when there are more than one or two casts that can perform at least adequately. The Stuttgart Ballet cannot yet guarantee this. But even more questionable is the viability of such a repertory. Ballet has evolved into its present stage of aesthetic and technical sophistication through the development of the one-act form, which demands more dancing to the ounce and less reliance on story. Cranko's inability to give shape to the intrinsic beauty and drama in movement is leading the Stuttgart Ballet back into a bygone era. □

CHESTNUT

Opening a chestnut we find a huge eye
staring between whiskered lids.
This animal gone to extinction left
its eye to remind us
we're being watched
through the earth's dark lens.

Robert Morgan

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

Seeing Harold Pinter's *The Homecoming* (Bijou Theatre, 357 West 48 Street) I was reminded of Jean Genêt's reaction at a rehearsal in London of his play *The Balcony*: "It's obscene!" he cried. (He was refused further admission to the theatre.) What Genêt meant was that in the staging the brothel which is the play's locale had been too explicitly revealed.

I cannot similarly object to the new production of *The Homecoming*, but it is far more specific (less "mysterious" and menacing) than that of the original Royal Shakespeare Company. The English cast did not stress the "points"; there was something noncommittal, almost frozen-faced in everything it did. One was not certain whether what one surmised was literally intended: whether, for instance, Ruth, the professor's wife, really proposed to set herself up as a public tart as well as a family concubine. Vivien Merchant, who played the role, then acted like a business woman driving a hard bargain, and as if this were a normal arrangement for her.

One did not know whether she despised her husband; Janice Rule who plays Ruth now makes it utterly clear that she does. Her husband in the earlier production looked imperturbable as his pugilist brother all but raped her in full view of everyone in the room. Lawrence Keith, the new professor, perspires a bit as he observes the event. The whole clan now seems more rapacious, more sensuously involved. What was coldly implied in the first production becomes unmistakable in the second.

It is a moot point which of the two

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

treatments is the more meaningful. Perhaps the play, as it is done now, can be more readily understood by an American audience; is "funnier." Its black humor is more blatant. The original production was precisely "Pinteresque": its manner bore a marked resemblance to Pinter's own personal demeanor. No matter what he actually says, his facial expression hardly ever betrays his feeling. It is with the same apparent impassivity, I suppose, that he prefers to have his plays acted. But, I imagine, he would not insist that "his" way is the only way they ought to be done. In any case, Eric Berry, Tony Tanner, Norman Barrs, Danny Sewell, as well as Janice Rule and Lawrence Keith, intelligently directed by Jerry Adler, give the play its due.

Understated or stressed, *The Homecoming* remains more frightening than funny. It presents a world totally insensible to everything except the appetites of the flesh, and even these have become mean and mournful.

Believe it or not, like it or not, it constitutes a powerful statement wrought by a master hand.

I understood little more than half of what was spoken or shouted by the actors in David Rabe's *The Basic Training of Pavlo Hummel* (Public Theatre). But though I gathered the impression that much of its text was well written, I was not troubled by missing so many of its lines. The pace had to be hectic, the scenes had to overlap, the sounds needed to be raucous: here was inferno.

It is supposedly a simple matter to write or stage a play depicting the horrors of war. That is not so. People screaming in agony, bodies flung about, wounds inflicted, harsh words yapped, ruthless cruelty on all sides nearly always become commonplace and boring in the usual anti-war play or picture. They are piteous preachments thundered at us in sham stage hyperbole; we do not believe them. This is not the case with *Pavlo Hummel*. The staging is largely stylized (without artiness), the gunfire is not deafening, no blood spurts out from the injured, but the sense of real men at war is present. We come to know the human abjectness of it all. It is haunting in its personal challenge.

Pavlo Hummel is a dumb kid who doesn't wish to go to war but once there he wants to fight it "like a man." He prefers combat duty to work as a hospital orderly. He's a fool, almost crackers, an amalgam of the innocent vices and stupid virtues of the universal unknown GI. He's good-natured and atrocious. Around him are the other clumps of recognizable humanity, reduced to the point where they lose any identity

SPRING POEM

Wind, the ghost of birds, lifts my tongue:
I become the hum of one wing.

Elizabeth Marraffino

except that of soldiers, food for slaughter, self-killers, ridiculous and terrible, victims who are also venomous. War makes them so; they are totally immersed in a "planet" where everything has turned to filth.

The First Sergeant bellows a spiel of oaths and exhortations which are projected like bullets: they cause laughter and hurt. The phantomlike enemy is fierce and unfathomable. The savagery of "our" men is visited upon one another almost as much as on those of the opposite side. At the end of the play it is a shock and yet no surprise when we see that Pavlo Hummel has not been killed by an enemy raid but by a drunken U.S. sergeant who vied with Hummel over a girl inmate of a cathouse. The murder has nothing to do with the issues of the war, but much to do with war itself.

Is then *The Basic Training of Pavlo Hummel* a "good" play? The answer hardly concerned me. It strikes home as very few "better" plays do. It is the first play provoked by the Vietnamese disaster which has made a real impression on me. The author, David Rabe, was there, and we are there with him. The large cast—notably William Atherton, Joe Fields, Albert Hall, Lee Wallace, Bob Delegall—is excellent throughout in type and performance, and the direction by Jeff Bleckner has the right overall sweep and smash and is often truly felt in detail. The setting by David Mitchell solves a knotty scenic problem with forceful simplicity.

It is no blasphemy to like *Godspell* (Cherry Lane Theatre). More or less a rock musical "based on the Gospel according to St. Matthew," this modest show, conceived and directed by John-Michael Tebelak, with music and lyrics by Stephen Schwartz, is in a vein which has by now become something of a "tradition." I refer to what we find more suavely accomplished in *Story Theatre* and *Metamorphoses* and auspiciously in *Alice in Wonderland* and even in the solemnities of the Open Theatre. Childlike sport is improvised around familiar or honored texts. The play consists of play—songs, pranks, inventions which are the scenic equivalents of the vocabulary of the younger generation. It has in every sense a neighborhood savor to it.

The *Godspell* company of ten is most winning: several of its members possess talent; all are eager and energetic, giving themselves wholeheartedly to the fun and games that are quite literally at the base of this increasingly popular mode of entertainment. There is always more than a smidgin of amateurishness about these affairs but they are no less sympathetic for that, unless we decide to get uptight about it. Although it begins awkwardly, I found the occasion entirely pleasant. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

Movement recognition has reached a new point of alacrity. At the end of 1969 Larry Aldrich, a collector, published an article on "Young Lyrical Painters" in *Art in America*. In the spring of 1970 he showed, at what he calls the Aldrich Museum of Contemporary Art in Ridgefield, Conn., an exhibition of "Lyrical Abstraction" which subsequently traveled to Philadelphia

Free to Authors

To The Author In Search of a Publisher

OF BOOK MANUSCRIPTS

Is your manuscript ready (or almost ready) for publication? Send for this valuable booklet packed with information every writer should have. Tells how to get your work published, promoted, distributed. Write Vantage Press, Dept. FR-59, 516 West 34th Street, New York, N.Y. 10001

The Best Way To Get THE NATION

THE NATION 6-7-71

333 Sixth Ave., New York 10014

☐ One Year, $12.50

☐ Two Years, $23.00

☐ 6 Months, $7.50

Payment Enclosed

(Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign)

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State .....Zip No.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Phoenix, along with its illustrated catalogue. All the works had been purchased by Aldrich and now the collection, slightly revised, has been presented to the Whitney Museum, and will be on view until July 16.

Thus a group of painters, born between 1935 and 1943, plus two older and two younger artists, who became legible as a group two years ago (they were also conspicuous in the 1970 Whitney Annual) are now bestowed on a museum. Its permanent collection is enriched and so is Mr. Aldrich's status as a patron, but this is an odd way to make gifts. To present a barely defined new movement, which the donor has had a big hand in promoting, is a doubtful basis for patronage. It is true that museums have sometimes waited too long to acquire works of art in the past, but acquisition is better kept on the basis of individual artists than on emergent tendencies.

How real a movement is Lyrical Abstraction? The tendency is too loosely defined by Aldrich. He includes several painters using geometric forms and modules who, despite a sensuous way with color, are not "lyrical" in a sense that applies to the others. In addition, the crumpled, painted, then stretched canvases of Ken Showell and Shirlann Smith belong to a more oblique method of working. Dan Christensen does not belong here: his supple and economical arabesques are quite different from the copious sprawl of the majority. In fact, by my count nearly a quarter of the works are not central to Lyrical Abstraction at all, but have stronger affiliations elsewhere.

Lyrical Abstraction, to try for a tighter definition, covers a spectrum from the cloudy to the liquid and from thin paint to thick. There are hazy, vaporous paintings (Helene Aylon, John Griefen) which evoke a 19th-century iconography of reverie-inducing chiaroscuro: dim interiors, smoke rings, Alpine mists, trampolines of cloud. Sprayed paint is used to create penumbras of color, in endless repetition like unraveled angora wool (Lawrence Stafford, David Cummings). The liquidity of paint is much in evidence, used not so much as stain and dye but in sluggish flow and hefty puddling (Victoria Barr, James Beres, Carl Glicko, William Pettet). This physicality of means is intensified by artists who use paint for its density (Herbert Schiffrin, Thornton Willis, Phillip Wofford), depositing it in crusts and ridges.

It is, then, an art of color and materials, not of drawing and modules, and by contrast to all the grids and concepts of the sixties, it may appear to resemble Abstract Expressionism. Is it validated by an instant cyclic view of New York art: the painterly fifties, the cool and linear sixties, and now the painterly seventies? The notion can be tested, as it happens, by a coincident exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, "Younger Abstract Expressionists of the 50s," the latest of a series of small shows drawn from the permanent collection. Incidentally, the works just acquired for the Whitney are by artists between the ages of 28 and 36, whereas the younger Expressionists were between 32 and 38 at the time they were first acquired by the Modern. Thus the Whitney is certainly not acquiring its artists too young; the average age is down only a little from ten years ago at the Modern. My reservations have to do with the acquisition of works in terms of a movement and one so poorly defined.

Helen Frankenthaler's' "Jacob's Ladder," at the Museum of Modern Art, might seem to prefigure the liquidity of the later artists, and Al Leslie's diptych, with its chunky impasto, some of the later thick works, but they do not. The perpetual dabs, splashed on or touched in, of the Frankenthaler show a different order of control and Leslie's picture looks like a truck driver's idea of De Stael, rough but with a French association. Joan Mitchell's "Lady Bug" is a flux of swarming brush marks, an unmistakable extension of the espaliered landscape space of late Cézanne. De Kooning's influence on Mitchell and Leslie is usually discussed in terms of overdone brushwork, but it also seems to have brought with it a sense of the past. The hand is nervous and the image charged with historical allusions in the painting of the younger Abstract Expressionists. The Lyrical painters, on the contrary, have an abbreviated sense of history; their past seems to contain just Pollock and Morris Louis, the starting point for their dense, flowing picture space.

Although the Lyrical artists are painterly, there is comparatively little sign of the hand, measured by brush strokes, in terms of pressure, length and direction. The younger Expressionists, however, depend on the hand, often in terms of drawing, adjusting density and edge continually. Lyrical painters are more apt to pour paint as if it were blood pumped from the heart or to douse the canvas in turbulent flow patterns. They use the form-creating potential of fluids, changing shape as they flow. The paint spreads under its own weight. The boundaries of colors penetrate one another, making fields of unbroken continuity, but of unpredictable incident. The avoidance of hand tracks and, inferred from them, body scale, separates these artists from Abstract Expressionism. Their garrulous and emphatic pictures posit an organicism beyond the span of the human arm; they are like arrested images of natural process. □

NIGHTMARES

I used to really like my nightmares.
But now, in the gut worry, have given
up thought, and the image that makes
me growl and hang like a spectre
is the fact I'm waking up
in the nightmare of others.

Jane Mayhall

JOB OPPORTUNITY

EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS DIRECTOR – National Peace Group, Washington, seeks professional to direct development of audio-visual and printed materials. Must write well, have background in foreign policy, disarmament. Modest salary. **Reply: 318 Mass. Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.**

RESORT

TROLLHAUGEN FARM, Newfane, Vermont 05345—802-365-7635. Small, non-commercial, absolutely charming country retreat. Excellent food. Lovely surroundings. Norwegian-American atmosphere. Brochure.

PERSONALS

WATER BEDS—King Size—72 x 84—$35.00. Safety Liner—$10.00. 5 year warranty. Literature 25¢. **AIRES, 5674A Beacon, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15217.**

SENSITIVE GENTLEMAN, single, retired, seeks volunteer job with community group. Southern California preferred. Promotion, writing, teaching. **Box 664, c/o The Nation.**

"LOVE AND LET LOVE" poster/bumperstrip, 2/$1; 6/$2.50. **IDEA CO., RYE, N.Y. 10580.**

PROTEST practically total unavailability of abortions in 5 of the world's 12 most populous metropolitan areas—Paris, Buenos Aires, Chicago, Sao Paulo, Bombay. **Postbox 4069, Grand Central Station, New York 10017.**

NOW is the time for war tax resistance. The most powerful acts against war have been those of the young men of the Resistance who have said **NO** to the draft. Now it is time for those of us who have been paying for the war in Indochina to say **NO** to taxes for war. **Join us! War Tax Resistance, 339 Lafayette St., N.Y., N.Y. 10012. Write and ask for information. Phone: (212) 477-2970.**

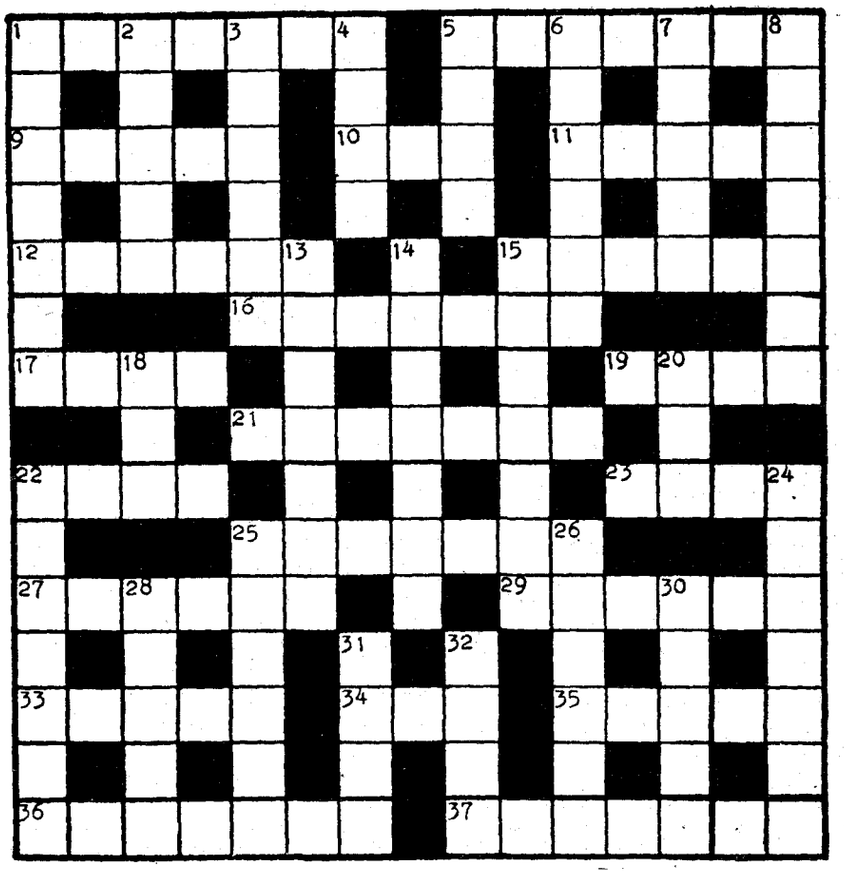
POSTERS (over 300, many anti-war), **BUTTONS** (over 175), **PATCHES, BUMPERSTICKERS** & other peace items. Wholesale & retail. Catalogue with pictures 25¢ (refund 1st order). **A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission St., San Francisco 94103.**

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS including all of New York's damnable legislation. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, WITHOUT EXCEPTION. If it were not the woman's right to decide, then she has no right to object to compulsory abortion or sterilization either.—**AAAL, POB 36122, Los Angeles 90036.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 1397

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The resting place bad? Torment! (7)
5 A short distance back to the early time with nothing but port! (7)
9 Once a salt water compound? (5)
10, 12, 15 across and 2 down Play where the puck moves fast! (9-6,5)
11 Nolan, typically, takes the 10:49 between two points. (5)
12 and 15 See 10 across
16 Always in colorful surroundings, but still looked up to. (7)
17 and 22 across Platforms for tar, if you get into the middle with charts around it. (8)
21 Told you can get a good grip with the main part, if you put two and two together around it. (7)
23 Bird, or birds back. (4)
25 Fleet, in part, but certainly not for the 30-31. (7)
29 He should be hunting Noah's great-grandson. (6)
33 His death was contrived long before he became a humble character. (5)
34 Little character, but welcome back. (3)
35 Little General whose rule is not exactly recognized. (5)
36 Swerved, but sounds cut. (7)
37 For most people, 27. (7)

DOWN

1 Did it make a flowering period of operetta, when associated with 19? (7)
2 See 10 across
3 Not a heavy overcoat. (6)
4 Represent a branch of sound? (4)
5 See 20 down
6 Opera seems to be associated with Scotland Yard. (3,3)
7 You might find him as upset as a rather independent religious type. (5)
8 The Bishop's position is logically to manage things. (7)
13 Concerning a possible daily output in rather prompt fashion. (7)
14 Shows 99 little divisions around it. (7)
15 and 27 across Play when the Puritans would play? (5,2,6)
18 and 32 down One devil to a person, to charge officially. (7)
20 and 5 down One might have to, in taking paw prints. (3,4)
22 Even things by chance might be. (4-3)
24 In a manner easily picked up? (7)
25 and 19 across The setting of Clarence Day's play, or just the old character? (6,4)
26 Might be fired from a Shakespearean role. (6)
28 Sound, such as one in the organ. (5)
30 and 31 One's manner would hardly be described as cavalier. (9)
32 See 18 down

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1396

ACROSS: 1 Coffers; 5 Ukraine; 9 Stomata; 10 High tea; 11 and 13 Applesauce; 12, 15, 17 and 24 Forbidden fruit; 14 Audible; 16 Endless; 18 Decides; 21 Annuals; 26 Bit; 27 Gamut; 28 Asinine; 29 Enteron; 30 Torrent; 31 Shallot. DOWN: 1 Cascara; 2 Footpad; 3 Evade; 4 Snaffle; 5 Unhorse; 6 Rages; 7 Intrude; 8 Erasers; 18 Defiant; 19 Courier; 20 Subvert; 21 Artless; 22 Admiral; 23 Satinet; 25 Trice; 27 Gutta.

MUSIC

RECORDER, VIOL DA GAMBA MUSIC. Write for free current listings. **Provincetown Bookshop, 246 Commercial St., Provincetown, Mass. 02657.**

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG offers hundreds of recordings of rare **Renaissance, Baroque and Classical music.** Introductory records as low as *$1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only.* **MHS Records, Box 932-NA, New York City 10023.**

PUBLICATIONS

COMMUNES, U.S.A.—Comprehensive guide (Religious, Scientific, Group Marriage); Extensive bibliographies; Alternative Organizations list—$4.00. Free information. **ALTERNATIVES-N, Drawer A, San Francisco, 94131.**

FREE—Self-help Newsletter for Alcoholics. Mail stamped addressed envelope for **PANORAMA** to: **Real New Books, Box 1432, GPO, N.Y.C. 10001.**

WORLD DEMOCRACY by Bin Dir Woor. Self-Designated Symbolical World President. Unique, Entrancing. **$2. Greenwich Book Publishers, 282 7th Ave., New York City.** Like many saints and others, **Bin Dir Woor** promises, God willing, to return many times after death. Purpose, to promote World Democracy. Reader, do the same.

HELPFUL READING: My World of Astrology (Omarr); Astrology Made Easy (Astarte), $2.00 each. **Galaxy, Box 8315, Minneapolis 55408.**

EDUCATIONAL

EXTERNAL DEGREE PROGRAM for well informed, highly motivated adults wishing to complete undergraduate education. Two-week resident periods on Goddard campus alternate with six-month independent study projects carried on at home under faculty supervision. Program leads to Goddard Bachelor of Arts degree. **Write Box E, Adult Degree Program, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont 05667.**

SERVICES

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. General Character/Personality report by handwriting psychologist, $5.00. Send page or more of writing to **Lorraine Clarke, 122 Thorne St., Jersey City, N. J. 07307.** Special services available to employers, therapists, others.

BOOK PRINTING—Paperbacks, hardcover, pamphlets. As few as 200 copies. Quality printing at Budget Prices. Free details. **Box 285N, Floral Park, N. Y. 11001.**

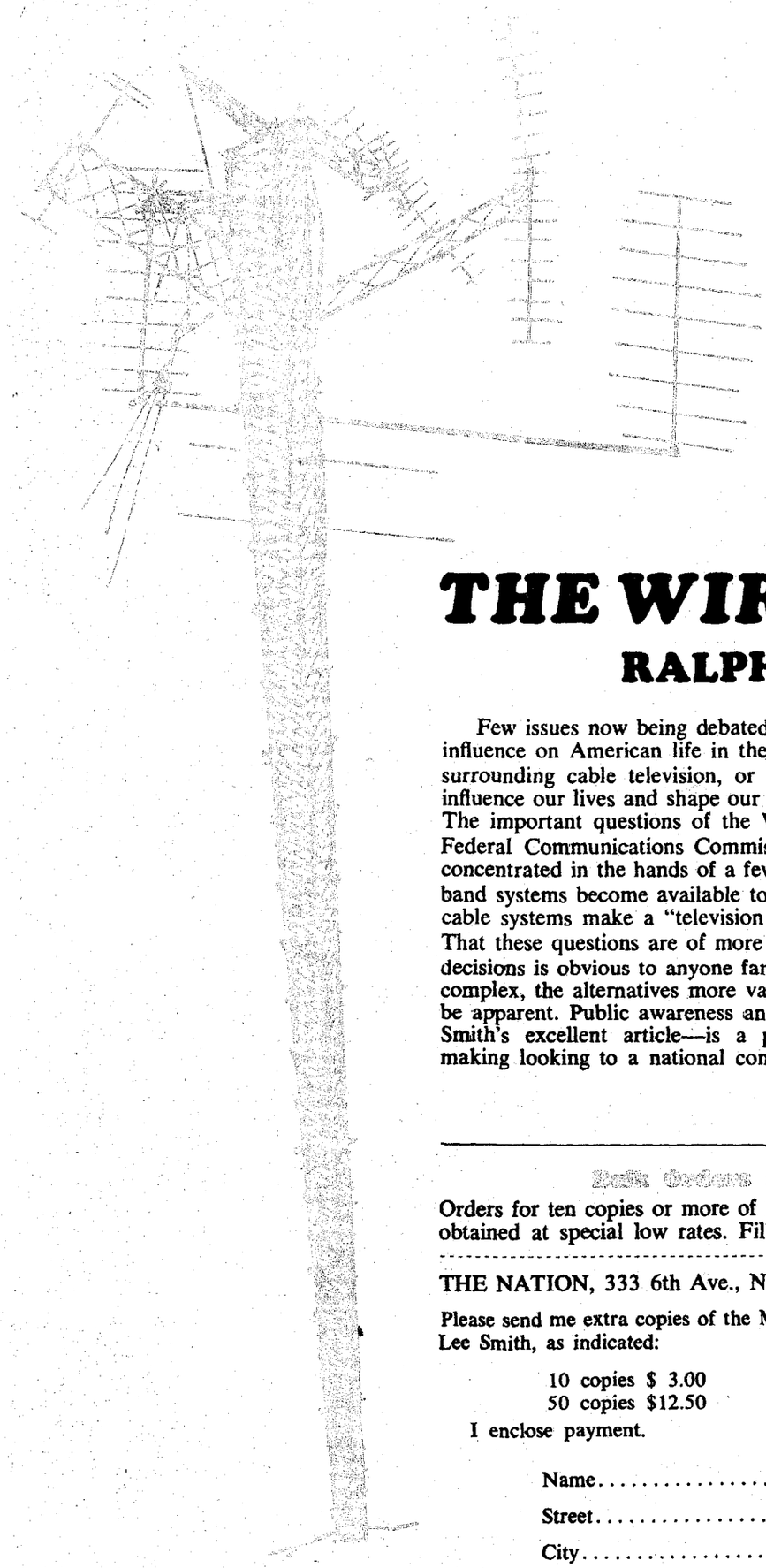
MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON, ALgonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)**

LAKETON VANS. The complete-service movers. Licensed, Insured, Trustworthy. Get the best for less. **Call (212) 672-5092.**

ADVERTISING RATES

Classified: 74c a line (6 words) 3 line min.
Classified Display: $7.42 per inch (min.)
THE NATION, 333 Sixth Ave., N. Y. 10014 242-8400

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE WIRED NATION

RALPH LEE SMITH

Few issues now being debated by the federal government have more potential influence on American life in the remaining third of this century than the issues surrounding cable television, or "The Wired Nation." Communications systems influence our lives and shape our institutions in ways unlike any other technology. The important questions of the Wired Nation are now being considered by the Federal Communications Commission. Will control over cable television become concentrated in the hands of a few media barons? Will two-way, switched, broadband systems become available to all homes? Will "common-carrier" channels on cable systems make a "television station" available to all who want to use one? That these questions are of more long-range consequence than conventional FCC decisions is obvious to anyone familiar with the subject. That the issues are more complex, the alternatives more vague, and the pressures more intense should also be apparent. Public awareness and discussion—such as will be produced by Mr. Smith's excellent article—is a prerequisite to intelligent government decision making looking to a national communications system for the future.

—NICHOLAS JOHNSON, Commissioner,
The Federal Communications Commission

Back Orders of This Issue Available

Orders for ten copies or more of Ralph Lee Smith's "The Wired Nation" may be obtained at special low rates. Fill out the coupon below.

THE NATION, 333 6th Ave., New York, 10014

Please send me extra copies of the May 18 special issue, "The Wired Nation" by Ralph Lee Smith, as indicated:

10 copies $ 3.00
50 copies $12.50
100 copies $20.00
500 copies $87.50

I enclose payment.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....State.....Zip.....

N-6-7

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED